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THE TROUBLES OF OUR CATHOLIC FOREFATHERS

RELATED BY THEMSELVES

P. GUILLELMUS WESTONUS CANTUARIENSIS INGRESSUS
TYROCINIUM 5 NOV. 1575. — 17 ANNORUM CARCERE PRO FIDE
ILLUSTRIS. OBIIT VALLISOLETI 19 APR. 1615. ÆT. 65.

FATHER WILLIAM WESTON, S.J.

THE TROUBLES OF

OUR CATHOLIC FOREFATHERS

RELATED BY THEMSELVES.

23910

Second Series.

EDITED BY

JOHN MORRIS,

Priest of the Society of Jesus.

LONDON: BURNS AND OATES.

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PREFACE.

To Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, to the Reverend Father Purbrick, Rector of Stonyhurst, and to the Reverend Father O'Callaghan, Rector of the English College at Rome, I am indebted for the use of valuable manuscripts that form the staple of the contents of this volume. It is a pleasant duty to thank them in this place. I have to offer my grateful thanks to other friends also for much kind assistance. But I owe an especial debt of gratitude for their patience to those who have entrusted to me documents for which I have not been able to find place in this Second Series. I trust to their forbearance, till in the midst of conflicting occupations I can manage to find time to prepare the Third Series for the press.

William Weston and Anthony Tyrrell were thrown about the same time into the midst of the labours and dangers of the English mission, when the persecution under Elizabeth was at its hottest. Their conduct, when they fell into the hands of the persecutors, presents a remarkable and instructive contrast. The more important

and more interesting portions of their lives, and especially their experience of imprisonment, were written by themselves. They were brought into personal contact both while at liberty and in prison; and their narratives thus curiously interlace the one with the other, and mutually support and illustrate one another. This is the more satisfactory as the two autobiographies are entirely independent, and it is only by a happy accident that they now see the light together. The original manuscript of the one is preserved at Stonyhurst; while the other, which was prepared for the press by the famous Father Robert Persons, is in the Archives of the Venerable English College at Rome. I hope that their publication may be found to be a useful contribution to the materials of history.

The present volume is considerably larger than its predecessor, and I have therefore been more sparing than I could have wished in the use of State Papers, especially in illustration of Father Persons' narrative of Tyrrell's Fall. I regret that when I sent the Chapter on the Bellamy family to press, I had for the moment forgotten an article by Mr. Simpson in the *Rambler*, by the help of which I could have made that portion of my book more complete.

My object throughout is to let our ancestors speak for themselves. For this reason I have always preferred to give a document in full rather than to state its substance in my own words. Both Father Weston's autobiography and Father Persons' narrative are complete. The book would perhaps

have gained in some respects, if I had curtailed them; but on the whole I have considered it better to give them in their integrity. Besides, Father Persons has already used the pruning-knife to Tyrrell's prolix story, and my duty has been to add rather than to take away.

There is but one further remark with which I need detain the reader. The First Series was received with such kindness by the literary journals, that I feel tempted to break through the etiquette which seems to require that authors and editors should receive in silence the criticisms passed upon them. My only temptation would be to return thanks for much unmerited praise, and to acquiesce in the justice of the corrections that have been suggested, if it were not that an expression in a journal of the highest literary ability seems to call for a word of reply in self-defence and explanation. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, in reviewing the former volume, remarked that "the Editor must be destitute of all sense of humour," who could have published the story of the crosses that appeared on Mrs. Tregian's smock.[1] Now I am fain to confess that the same deficiency has accompanied me while compiling the present volume. The old writers, whose words I print, have told various stories that seem to me extremely droll; but I plead guilty to the accusation that I have not seen the fun of omitting them. Besides, if I had possessed the sense of humour that would have led me to omit the story of Mrs. Tregian's smock, I should have

[1] *Troubles*, First Series, p. 121.

been bound to resist it, and to leave unmutilated a document that I was printing entire. I have not felt myself obliged to suppress anecdotes which, though gravely told long ago, now raise a smile in the perusal. To strike out such stories as those of the devils swimming like fishes beneath a man's skin, or Mrs. Bellamy's wonderful plant, or the Glastonbury mouth of Purgatory, or the poor man whose interior fire was not quenched by eight gallons of liquor,[1] may be a method of showing a "sense of humour," but it would be a poor way of bringing back the records of a bygone time. Our gratitude to our Catholic forefathers for the precious inheritance they have bequeathed to us, is not the less serious and deep because we are now and then amused by their quaint tales. And certainly we do not regard them as less trustworthy witnesses to the historical events they relate, because they reflect with accuracy the feelings of their own time.

J. M.

St. Beuno's College, St. Asaph,
May 8th, 1875.

[1] *Infra*, pp. 101, 188, 192, 215.

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I.

THE LIFE OF FATHER WILLIAM WESTON, S.J.

THE chief sources from which this Life has been drawn are manuscripts in the possession of Stonyhurst College. One of them is the valuable transcript made in Rome in 1689, by Father Christopher Grene, of the writings of Father Persons that had not been printed. These volumes of his *Collectanea* were distinguished by Father Grene by the letter *P.* Of this collection much use has been previously made by Mr. Simpson in his *Life of Father Campion.*

Still more to our present purpose is Father Weston's Autobiography. The original, in Father Weston's own hand, is very neatly written on large quarto pages. Unfortunately the sizing of the paper was bad, and the manuscript fell to pieces. It has lately been carefully inlaid and bound, but the leaves towards the end are very defective, and all that followed page 76 is now lost. The original paging is very peculiar, the alternate folios only being numbered.

The missing leaves at the end were lost before the manuscript was brought to Stonyhurst, for a copy was made by Father John Laurenson, who was librarian of the College when in August, 1794, it was transferred from Liége. It is a fortunate circumstance that he did so, for owing to the progress of decay many leaves have partially perished that were entirely legible in his time. His copy is in one hundred and thirty-six pages small quarto.

His *copy* we have called it; but it is to be lamented that he took unwarrantable liberties with the wording in his transcription. He treated it as he would have treated a boy's theme-book, and corrected the latinity to his own taste. Fortunately a careful comparison with the original assures us that the sense is not affected, and in a translation the alterations are not perceptible.

The kindness of Father Boero, the archivist of the Gesù, has furnished us with another unpublished manuscript. It is the Life

of Father Weston, written in Spanish, and apparently the author's autograph, by Father de Peralta, Rector of the English College at Seville. It was written in the year of Father Weston's death, 1615, when forty years had elapsed since the writer's first acquaintance with the subject of his memoir. The title is, *Puntos que el P^e. de Peralta de la Comp^a. de Jesus, R^or. del colegio ingles de Sevilla, junto de personas fidedinas de la Comp^a. y seglares, cerca de la s^ta. vida del P. Guillermo Weston de la Comp^a. de Jesus, R^or. del coll^o. ingles de Valld., que murie nel propio colegio en 9 de Abril deste año de 1615; de muchos de los quales es testigo de vista de cerca de 40 años, a esta parte cursando con el estudio, y siendo su superior en el seminario de Sev^a. mas de seis años.* It consists of twelve folios, small quarto size, and it is divided into seven sections, the last of which is the circular in Spanish to the members of the Society, written on occasion of Father Weston's death, by Father Thomas Silvester, then Minister of the College of Valladolid. A Latin copy of this circular, entitled *Elogium P. Gulielmi Westoni*, 1615, is in the Archives de l'Etat at Brussels, with other papers belonging to St. Omers College, which were seized at Bruges when the Society was suppressed.

In addition to these sources of information, the State Papers in the Public Record Office have been freely quoted. Their accessibility, and the ability and care with which the Calendars have been compiled, are singular advantages that we enjoy over former students of history in its less trodden paths.

LIFE OF FATHER WILLIAM WESTON.

CHAPTER I.

FATHER WESTON'S VOCATION.

WILLIAM WESTON was born at Maidstone, in Kent, in the year 1550. Of his family nothing is known, nor, though he was a contemporary of Father Campion at Oxford, has it been possible to ascertain his College[1] at that University. Campion was ten years his senior, but as in those days students went to the Universities in their boyhood, Weston may have been some years at Oxford before Campion left it in 1569. They are said to have been personally acquainted at Oxford, and they met again later in a place of learning of a very different spirit. Weston must, when a very young man, have felt the necessity of leaving his country for the sake of his religion, for as soon as he had taken his bachelor's degree, he went to Paris to continue his studies. This must have been shortly after Campion's departure from Oxford. Letters from Dr. Bristow and Dr. Martin, two of the great lights of the newly-founded Seminary of Douay, drew him from Paris in 1572; and there he found, amongst one hundred and fifty more of like mind and purpose with himself, Edmund Campion, who the year before had begun his

[1] Mr. Simpson, in his *Life of Campion*, p. 80, says that he was at All Souls. His assertion would be sufficient authority, if we were not obliged to place against it the assurance of the Reverend the Warden of All Souls, that "the name of William Weston does not occur in the registers of the College."

study of theology. They were not, however, long together, for in the autumn of 1572, Campion set out for Rome.

Campion's journey was made on foot and alone. His object in going to Rome was to offer himself to St. Francis Borgia for admission into the Society. He tried to persuade William Weston to accompany him with the same intention, but the time was not yet come and the friends parted; and though they had the happiness of being sons of the same Society, they never met again. The impression that Father Campion made on the mind of Father Weston may be best gathered from the name that he chose in the place of his own by which to be called when sent on the English mission. Edmund Campion had then set the crown to his apostolic career by his happy martyrdom, and Father Weston, out of veneration for him, took the name of Edmonds, by which he was better known in England than by his own.

This was not the only instance of homage of this sort to Campion's name. In those times it was necessary for all who thought of coming on the English mission to conceal their identity as far as possible by change of name. The love of Father Campion must have been strong to induce a priest to take a name that was so likely to draw attention to him, and bring him into trouble; yet this was what was done by the martyred priest, whom we honour under the name of Edward Campion. His true name was Edwards,[1] and he said on his examination, as Lord Keeper Puckering notes against him,[2] that "he wisheth he were no worse a traitor than Campion, that was executed for treason." Edwards was of "White Hall," now St. John's, Father Campion's College at Oxford. Others also adopted the surname, as Robert Wigmore, who died in the Jesuit Novitiate at Louvain, in 1614,

[1] British Museum, *Harleian MSS.* 360, fol. 25.

[2] Strype, *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 255; P.R.O. State Papers, *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cc. n. 36.

and Father John Pointz, *alias* Stephens, who was known by the name of Campion while a student in the English College at Rome, of which College he was afterwards Rector.

The desire of entering the Society induced William Weston to leave Douay College and to follow Campion to Rome. And he travelled, as Campion travelled, on foot. He went "on pilgrimage," the Douay Journal says; and how much of fatigue and hardship was involved in the term, we of a more feeble generation are not likely ever to experience. "He went four hundred leagues on foot to ask admission into the Society," is Father de Peralta's note on the journey. In one respect Weston's was an easier journey than Campion's, for he had a companion, John Lane, an Oxford Master of Arts and Fellow of Corpus, who like himself sought admittance into the Society.

Immediately on his conversion Lane had gone from Oxford to Rome, and there in 1574, at the end of September, Persons found him, when desiring to have him to share the studies he proposed to pursue at Padua.[1] They were present together when Pope Gregory XIII. opened the *Porta Sancta*, at the beginning of the year of Jubilee, 1575, and then, with Luke Atslow, they went to Padua. There, Father Persons says in his fragmentary Autobiography, "we took a very commodious house of our own, they two studying law and I physic, and finding ourselves very well settled, I bought good store of books for my faculty, as also provision of apparel." The arrangement did not last long. "It was at the end of the month of May," Father Persons continues, "when I left Padua, and though I was no good goer on foot, and the weather very hot, yet by God's help I made all that journey without any riding." Rome was Persons' destination; and the thought in his mind, which

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., Father Chr. Grene's *Collectan.*, *P.* fol. 225.

had broken up the promising plan of study at Padua, was that perhaps he was called by God to the religious life in the Society of Jesus. Persons arrived in Rome at the end of May, and "stayed some weeks in Rome before he resolved to offer himself to the Society, which finally he entered upon St. James' day," July 25, 1585. Weston found him in the Novitiate of St. Andrew's, on the Quirinal, when he reached Rome a few months later. "My two companions at Padua," Father Persons adds, "Mr. Lucas Atslow and John Lane, hearing of my resolution, they made the like, but Mr. Atslow died soon after in Padua, and Mr. John Lane came and entered the Society in Rome." Lane, when left at Padua by Persons, and when he had lost Atslow, betook himself to Douay, but only to leave it again in company with William Weston on his pilgrimage to Rome. Weston evidently entered the Society as soon as they reached Rome, for he was received at St. Andrew's on the 5th of November, 1575, being then twenty-five years of age. John Lane was a little after him, being admitted February 2, 1576. According to Father Grene, Lane died at Alcala, May 6, 1579.

The friendship that subsisted between the great Seminary of Douay, the mother of the English secular clergy, and the Society of Jesus, was very close and most edifying. When Father Weston left Douay he made a gift to the Seminary of all that he possessed.[1] On the other side it is charming to see how his old friends at Douay rejoiced in his vocation to the happy life of Religion. "On the 5th of April, 1576," we translate from the Douay Diary, "four of ours who left us half a year ago on a pilgrimage to Rome, have returned to us again, and to the great joy of our souls they have told us that Mr. William Weston and Mr. Lane, honourable men of great promise (who

1 "P. Gul. Westonus cum Duaco discederet ad Societatem ingrediendam bona sua omnia Seminario Duacensi donavit." *Father Garnet to the General*, June 11, 1597.

about the same time left this for Rome on pilgrimage), have there entered the Society of Jesus." And in the list of priests ordained and sent on the mission there is a not less friendly entry. "In the year 1575, two priests entered the Society of Jesus, men of weight, Mr. Thomas Robinson, of Lincoln, and Mr. Thomas Marshall, of York; also Mr. William Weston, of Canterbury, not yet a priest, but learned and very pious."

St. Francis Borgia had died before Campion reached Rome, and his successor, Everard Mercurian, was the General by whom the English were received into the Society. Campion, who had entered the Society in June, 1573, as soon as the new General was elected, had finished his two years' noviceship before the entrance into the Society of Weston or even Persons, and when they came to Rome he was in Austria. Father Weston was not destined to meet him again. Oxford associates, however, not a few, met in the Novitiate on the Quirinal Hill. Besides Persons of Balliol and Lane of Corpus, there were Henry Garnet, the future martyr, Giles Wallop, and soon after, Thomas Stephens, from the same University. Wallop, or as his name was Latinized, Gallop, died in Rome in 1579. Stephens went as a missionary to Goa, and there died, after forty years of exile and apostolic labour, in 1619, in his seventieth year. At St. Andrew's, with such fellow-novices as Persons and Garnet, Weston remained for some months.

In the course of 1576 Father Weston went to Spain. Don Alonzo Perez de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, had petitioned the General for an English Father to hear the confessions of his countrymen at the ports of Cadiz and St. Lucar. To prepare him for this charge, William Weston was sent to Montilla, in the Province of Andalusia, to finish his novitiate. This completed, he went to the College of Cordova to finish his studies in theology, which had been broken off when his

vocation induced him to leave Douay; and at Cordova he remained for three years. He had, together with all the students then at Douay, been tonsured and promoted to the minor orders at Brussels, in the month of March, 1573.

One of his companions during his theological course was Francis de Peralta, who was afterwards his Superior for six years in the College of Seville. From the pen of this excellent witness, we are so fortunate as to have an account of the life of Father Weston, written in 1615, the year of his death.[1] "All the three years that he was at Cordova," Father de Peralta says, "he was a living picture of all virtues, and rare was the example which he gave to all by his holy life. When his time was not spent in attending lectures and in study, he devoted himself to continual prayer, recollection, silence and mortification. His delight was to help in all the humblest and meanest offices of the house, such as carrying water and taking part with the lay-brothers in cleaning the rooms." Meanwhile he made, as men of such spirit are apt to do, great progress in study, and Father de Peralta especially notes the proficiency that he had brought with him to Cordova, not only in Latin, but in Greek and Hebrew.

In 1579, he was ordained priest, and was soon after sent to Cadiz and to St. Lucar, where for about two years he showed great charity in the exercise of the sacred ministry, both to the English and Spaniards. Falling ill, however, at Cadiz, he was sent by his superiors to Seville, where he remained for a little more than two years. He became a great favourite with the English students there, many of whom chose him for their confessor. He never knew the students by name, and all that passed between them was *Una palabrita de Dios*—the word or two about Almighty God that on such occasions descends into the heart. "Holy Father William,"

[1] This Life was used by Father Henry More in his History of the Province, but Father Nathaniel Southwell never saw it.

was the name by which the students knew him. They also saw him during this time in the professor's chair, for he had to teach them Greek. The reputation of his sanctity was as high amongst his fellow-religious. He was occasionally appointed to hear the confessions of the Community, and there were many who availed themselves of the opportunity of the help of such a man to make general confessions.

"The greater part of the time that he lived in this College," Father de Peralta continues, "one would see him scouring the copper and helping in the kitchen, and in the humblest offices in the house, without ever having been asked to do so. He usually called the others in the morning." Father Campion did the same, while Professor of Rhetoric at Prague. "At that time I was Minister in the College," says Father de Peralta, "and it happened to me sometimes to get up before the Community. I then found Father Weston on the terrace in prayer, on his knees, with his eyes fixed on heaven, waiting for it to be time to call the others.

"Just then there was so large a number in the College, and so great a want of rooms, that the Superior was the only one who had a room to himself. Father Weston's chamber-fellow was Brother Forivio de el Palacio, the Procurator of the College, which office he filled in 1585, in the house where I was then Superior, and he told me three things of Father Weston. The first was that almost always on entering the room, he found him on his knees. The second, that frequently he found him in some posture taken for mortification, and Father Diego de Cordova, who was Minister all the while that Father Weston studied at Cordova, has told me that he has often observed the same. The third thing was that every night he would discipline himself cruelly at midnight. Father Alvaro Gonçales, who was a professor for five-and-thirty years, at one time shared his room, and he

told me that he was often awakened by the sound of his discipline, and that he too, on entering the room, generally found him kneeling;" so that, to use the beautiful phrase that Father Henry More has recorded for us,[1] he seemed *studendo orare et orando studere*—to pray by study and to study by prayer. We thus see how he came to deserve the high encomium of the Douay record, that he was *doctus et valde pius.* In the College at Seville Father Weston remained till he was summoned to the toils and perils of the English mission in 1584.

CHAPTER II.

THE ENGLISH JESUIT MISSION.

THE first impulse to the Society William Weston had received while still at Oxford. Some of the Annual Letters from the Jesuit missionaries in Japan had fallen into his hands, and he was greatly attracted by the narrative of conversions and good works done in that very interesting mission. Twenty years only had elapsed since the death of St. Francis Xavier, and his work in that fervent young Christianity was carried on by men who were worthy to succeed the Apostle of the East. The story was one to stir the heart, and to arouse within a man like Weston the desire to do his utmost for his own salvation and perfection and for that of others. When duly prepared by study and prayer, England was to be his Japan. It was a mission in which souls were in greater need, and where help was then brought to those who needed it at far greater risk to the bringer. The blood of priests was shed in England sooner than in Japan, and the persecution was hardly less fierce and persistent.

[1] *Historia Prov. Angl.* lib. iv. n. 16, p. 142.

The impression made on such a mind as Weston's by the news of Father Campion's martyrdom may well be imagined. The day so memorable for the Society, on which its English protomartyr suffered, was the 1st of December, 1581. This was about the time when Father Weston went to Seville. In the course of the following year many heroes suffered for their faith, and the number of priests thus martyred was so considerable that a missionary going to England must have seen plainly that he carried his life in his hand. Cuthbert Maine had led the way in 1577, the first of the glorious holocaust of Douay priests. In 1578 one priest had been martyred, John Nelson; and one layman, Thomas Sherwood, a Douay student. Four priests suffered in 1581, Campion's year; and in 1582 no less than eleven. As Weston was at Douay with the first generation of students, and did not leave the College before 1575, he was personally acquainted with many of those of whom he now heard these great tidings. He was certainly the college companion of Thomas Ford, Cuthbert Maine, John Nelson, John Paine, and Robert Johnson, who were martyred before he set foot in England, as well as of others, like Momford Scott, who suffered later.

At that time there was not a single Jesuit at liberty in England or Scotland. Father James Bosgrave and Father Thomas Cottam were tried with Father Campion. Father Cottam was martyred at Tyburn on the 30th of May, 1582, in his thirty-third year. Father Bosgrave was shut up in the Tower, and there he remained until he was exiled in June, 1585. As early as December, 1578, Father Mercurian had received Thomas Pound into the Society, a most zealous and generous confessor, who spent the greater part of his life in prison for the Faith. Amongst other fruits of his zeal, Father Cottam owed his conversion to him. Pound was then in the Tower of London, with Stephen Brinckley and William Carter, the printers and

disseminators of Catholic books.[1] Later on he was to be for ten years and more the companion in imprisonment of Father Weston.

Before the apprehension of Father Campion, Father Persons had petitioned for a reinforcement, and two fathers were deputed by the new General, Claude Aquaviva, to cross over into England in 1581. These were William Holt and Jaspar Haywood. Father Holt, after a time spent in England, was sent into Scotland. On his arrival he was imprisoned, and narrowly escaped being handed over to Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador. In 1584 he was set free, and during the latter period of his stay in Scotland was greatly protected by the young King. Father Haywood arrived in England just as Father Persons left it, and when he received Father Persons' letter from France appointing him Superior in England during his absence, he was the only one of the Society in England then at liberty. Besides those already mentioned, there was only Father Thomas Mettam, who was received into the Society in May, 1579. In the following May he was imprisoned, and when his captivity ended by death after seventeen years' confessorship, Father Weston was his fellow-prisoner, and assisted him when dying.

When Father Campion was arrested at Mrs. Yates' house at Lyford, on the 16th of July, 1581, Father Persons was not far off. He was at Henley Park, the house of Mr. Francis Browne, the brother of Anthony Viscount Montague. Campion's arrest was not the only blow that at this time fell upon Persons. Within a month after,[2] Stonor Park was searched, where Stephen Brinckley and all the printers were taken, who shortly before had been engaged in printing Father Campion's famous *Ten Reasons*, and with Mr. John Stonor, were imprisoned in the Tower. In the spring of the same year, George Gilbert had been sent

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clix. n. 36: March, 1583.
[2] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 229.

by Father Persons out of England. To raise some money for his journey, Gilbert offered to sell his lands in Suffolk to his tenants. "They should have paid it unto him in Mr. Higgens' house, the scrivener, in London," but the tenants betrayed him, and Sir George Carey, the Knight Marshal, would have seized him if Father Persons had not feared treachery, and prevented his going. However, his two friends, Mr. Francis Browne and Mr. Charles Basset, one of whom was Persons' host, were imprisoned. George Gilbert escaped safely to France, and stayed in Rouen till he was joined there by Father Persons, who left Henley for Mr. Shelley's house at Michelgrove, in Sussex, where he made up his mind very reluctantly to leave England for awhile. He was never able to return.

One other Jesuit there was, who had also managed to escape from England. This was Ralph Emerson, the lay-brother, whom Father Campion used to call his "little man." He parted from Father Campion the day before his apprehension, and succeeded in making his way safely to Rouen, which place served as a very convenient rendezvous. It was there in the winter of 1581 that some of Persons' books were printed, and in particular the famous *Christian Directory*, which made its appearance under the name of the *Book of Resolution.* The printer first employed at Rouen was George Flinton, who devoted himself for some years to the production of English books. On his death, Stephen Brinckley, who in June, 1583, had been set free from the Tower, and had afterwards been to Rome with Persons, was able to take his place and resume his own most useful work as an English Catholic printer.

Father Persons was hospitably received at Rouen by M. Michel de Mons, Archdeacon of Sens, and nephew of the Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen. From his house he wrote a long letter[1] to Father General Aquaviva, dated

[1] More, *Hist. Prov.* lib. iv. cap. 9, p. 113.

September 26, 1581, desiring that the answer might be addressed to him under the name of Roland Cabel, merchant. In this letter he told the General that Father Campion had been twice tortured and had had four disputations on religion in the Tower. On the day he was writing he had received two large packets of letters from England by his servant, and he had sent by another many letters to help and console the English Catholics. He was anxious to return to England as soon as possible, for though the two Fathers Haywood and Holt were doing much good, they were working at a considerable distance from London. Other letters arrived while he was writing to tell him that his presence in England was particularly desired that he might make some provision for collecting and distributing alms in behalf of the poor prisoners for the Faith. However, Father Jasper had been in London the week before with a plentiful alms for them.

There were three districts, he told the General, that particularly interested him, and which seemed to be in great need of priests. The first was Wales, which was not hostile to the Faith, but where heresy had prevailed owing to the ignorance entailed by want of clergy. He had sent several priests there, under the protection of a nobleman, probably the Earl of Powis. The second was Cambridge. There was a priest at the University in the guise of a student, and in a few months seven promising youths had been sent to Rheims. For this priest help had been found near the town, perhaps at Sawston Hall, the seat of the Huddlestones. The third district was the north, where he was attracted by the noble and generous disposition of the Catholics of the four or five counties that were nearest to Scotland. A priest named William Watts, or Waytes, whom he had sent into those counties, he had since sent into Scotland, and he inclosed the letter he had just received from him.

In consequence of the receipt of this letter, from which he gathered that there was an excellent prospect of doing good there, the active and zealous soul of Father Persons was all on fire with the wish to help Scotland, and England through Scotland. A French Jesuit, Henry Samelie, had been sent at the particular request of the Queen of Scots to be her confessor during her imprisonment under the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Mary had also written most urgent letters to the Duke of Guise to beg him to intercede with the Nuncio and the Provincial of the Jesuits that some Scotch fathers might be sent into Scotland without delay. To Don Bernardine de Mendoza she wrote that Persons was at Rouen, and that he must be made to feel that it was no time to spend in writing books when the salvation of kingdoms was at stake. Father Persons was so moved when he received this message through Dr. Allen that he was on the point of leaving everything and starting for Scotland.

Just at this time two Jesuit fathers arrived who had been appointed by the General of the Society to pass over into Scotland. These were William Crichton and Edmund Hay. By way of experiment Father Crichton, the younger of the two, was sent over first, and Father Persons gave him his trusty lay-brother Ralph Emerson for his companion. By April, 1582, however, they were both back again in France; and "brought answer," Father Persons says, "from the Duke of Lennox, then governor of Scotland and of the young King, to the full contentment of the Duke of Guise."

The information thus brought by Father Crichton, in confirmation of the report made by Waytes of the good dispositions of the Duke of Lennox, was naturally considered to be of the greatest importance. A conference was held at Paris at which were present the Duke of Guise, the Papal Nuncio, the Archbishop of Glasgow,

who was Mary's Ambassador to the King of France, and John Baptist Tassis, the Spanish Ambassador; while the French Provincial of the Jesuits, Father Claude Matthieu, and Dr. Allen, President of the Seminary of Rheims, were summoned to be present at it. Charles Paget and Thomas Morgan were not present, and Father Persons attributes the factious course they subsequently pursued to their mortification at this exclusion, which was at the desire of the Duke of Guise and the Archbishop of Glasgow.

The message of the Duke of Lennox was to the effect that his goodwill was useless owing to his want of money. The first thing he urged was that funds should be sent to him sufficient to maintain a body-guard for the young King of Scots. At the conference it was resolved that Father Persons should go to the King of Spain, and Father Crichton to the Pope, to represent the urgent and critical state of affairs in Scotland, and their bearing on England. They left Paris accordingly on the 1st of May, 1582. Father Crichton carried to Rome a letter from King James. He wrote to Father Thomas Owen, June 4, 1605, "Our King had so great fear of the number of Catholics, and the puissance of Pope and Spain, that he offered liberty of conscience, and sent me to Rome to deal for the Pope's favour and making of a Scottish Cardinal; as I did show the King's letters to Father Persons." In 1584 the General sent Fathers William Crichton and James Gordon to Scotland, but Father Gordon alone succeeded in effecting a landing. Crichton was taken prisoner at sea, and, with a Scotch priest named Patrick Adye, was lodged in the Tower of London on the 16th of September, 1584.

On the 15th of June, 1582, Father Persons reached Lisbon "with no small pains." "This summer," Father Persons continues,[1] "was spent in Lisbon, when the Marquis of Santa Crux went to the Terceras, and had his

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 230.

victory against the French and Pietro Strozza. And in the mean space the Queen of England, mistrusting the Duke of Lennox for that he was Catholicly given, caused him to be taken by a sleight of hunting in Scotland, and the King to be taken from him, himself to go to France by England, where he was poisoned as is supposed, for that he died as soon as he arrived at Paris, and so fell all that attempt to the ground: which being heard in Lisbon I returned with Mr. William Tresham about Michaelmas, and coming to Bilboa, I fell sick very grievously, and so stayed all that winter in Biscay, and the next spring returned into France. At this my being with the King of Spain I obtained twenty-four thousand crowns to be sent to the King of Scots, which were paid by John Baptist Tassis in Paris. I caused also two thousand ducats of yearly pension for the Seminary at Rheims, and a promise for Dr. Allen to be Cardinal, which was afterwards fulfilled."

Allen was alarmed by Persons' long absence, and on the 29th of December he wrote to Father Agazzari to say that not having heard any tidings of him for two months, they feared that he had died on the journey. His illness was very serious, and his life was probably saved by the charity of Father Gonzales, the Provincial of Castile, who on hearing of his state sent a man to bring him to the College of the Society in a town called Oñate, where he was taken care of till he recovered.

In Father Persons' absence,[1] the General of the Society had requested Dr. Allen to keep up a correspondence with the fathers who were in England. Just before the return of Father Persons to Paris, Allen wrote to the General, March 29, 1583, that he had two or three times inquired of Father Haywood what his wishes were respecting the despatch of other Jesuits into England, and whether he would prefer that they should be Englishmen or foreigners.

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 45.

George Gilbert, who was now in Rome, pressed Dr. Allen most earnestly not to allow any delay in sending these reinforcements that were so greatly wanted.

Dr. Allen's proposal[1] to the General was that as Father Thomas Darbyshire and Father William Good, the one then at Paris, the other at Rome, were now incapable through age of bearing the fatigues of the English mission, Father William Weston, who was in Spain, and Father John Gibbons, then Rector of the College of Trèves, should be selected. Father Gibbons answered with great simplicity and honesty both to the General and Dr. Allen that he hoped that he should give no disedification by saying that he had not the spiritual strength for such an enterprize, but that he would give all the help that was in his power towards the work in hand. That which he performed in fulfilment of that pledge has made his debtors all students of the history of his time and all clients of the English martyrs, for we owe to him together with John Fenn, the martyr's brother, the first preparation of an invaluable book that Dr. Bridgwater re-edited with their cooperation, the *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.* It is curious that some letters that were addressed to him while engaged in this work and were waylaid by English spies, may now be found in the British Museum.[2] In them Dr. Humphrey Ely, writes to him from Mussipont, the 20th of June or July, 1587, "I have dealt with Father Rector here, who hath appointed Mr. Sutton to translate the rest of the martyrs, and I have set him on work already. Besides those [lives of martyrs] by you named in your letter, if I am not deceived, I sent you Mr. William Hart's, martyr's, life, fair written in folio, as also the life of Mr. Emerford, priest. Of Mr. Hart's I am sure, as I think, for I cannot find it amongst my papers here. I requested you, and so I do eftsoons, to send me by your good opportunity the copies in English I did send

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 52. [2] *Lansdowne MSS.* 96, n. 26.,

you, if Mr. Fenn hath returned them, because I mean one day to see them extant in English, and I have no copies so fully and so well gathered as those are I sent you." The life of Hart, the martyr, is given at length in the *Concertatio*,[1] but there are but a few lines[2] of Emerford, or Hemerford, as he is more frequently called.

When Father Persons reached Paris, in April, 1583, not a little had happened in England to cause him grave anxiety. There had been a grave scandal caused by one who had been long in the Society, and had filled offices of trust. Father Thomas Langdale entered the Society in 1562, was Penitentiary in Rome and Loretto, and when in 1578 the Duke of Terranuova, a Sicilian, was sent to Cologne on an important political mission he asked to have Father Langdale as his confessor and theologian. In 1580 he was at Milan, when Father Campion and Father Persons passed through on their way to England, and though he showed a great desire to accompany them, there was nothing to create an unfavourable impression of him. But a year or two later, having received orders to return to Rome, when he was at Genoa on his way a grave temptation seized him to embark for England without leave of his superiors, to which unhappily he yielded. Early in 1583 he arrived, and betook himself to the Lord Treasurer and others of the Privy Council, and afterwards to the Protestant Bishop of Durham. By them he was received with extraordinary favour, and they gave out that a learned Jesuit had voluntarily come from Italy, who taught that it was lawful for Catholics to frequent Protestant churches, and that therefore leave had been given him to go where he liked, and to say Mass when he pleased. The poor man who thus had practically become an apostate went into Yorkshire. His sister, Mrs. Colburne, he persuaded to go to the church and to receive the Protestant Communion, and thus one

[1] Fol. 104. [2] Fol. 156.

who "had ever been a good Catholic gentlewoman, after she fell in these two points, became a most perverse Protestant in the rest." A nephew of his, as Allen wrote to Aquaviva,[1] showed another spirit. "I wonder I do not put my sword into you, and put an end to your unworthy life, and to the dishonour you bring on our name and blood. If you do not care to honour it by dying as you ought to do for the Catholic faith, which is ours and all our ancestors', I greatly care that you should not dishonour us by your vile trade of apostate and seducer."

Thomas Langdale gave out that he was a "Papal penitentiary," and had been sent by the Pope to visit and reform the Jesuits and Seminarists, and then go back to Rome. Father Haywood sent messengers to undeceive the Catholics, and the unhappy man wrote to ask the father not to injure his authority here or abroad. What became of him is not known; but it was believed that he went to Germany, and soon after died.

Another trouble for Father Persons, on his return from Spain, but one involving no such serious scandal, was a misunderstanding with the older clergy, especially those of Queen Mary's time, into which Father Haywood had imprudently fallen. In England the fasts observed by the Catholics, from time immemorial, were singularly severe. The Fridays throughout the year, excepting in Paschal time, and many vigils not kept in Rome, were fasting days; and the Saturdays, the Rogation days, and St. Mark's day were days of abstinence. With good intentions, we may well believe, but with great imprudence, Father Haywood set himself to introduce the Roman practice in this matter into England. The law was not on his side, for the obligation remained for two centuries after this, until Pope Pius VI., in 1777, transferred the vigils through the year to the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent; and in 1781 abrogated the Friday fast. The abstinence on Saturdays,

[1] Bartoli, *Inghilterra*, lib. iv. cap. vi. p. 261.

the Rogations and St. Mark, Pius VI. left in force as "a pious custom descending from ancient times," but Pius VIII. dispensed the English Catholics from its observance in 1830. It is to be supposed that Father Haywood based his opinion upon the substitution of the Roman for the Salisbury and other English rites, which change was introduced by the Seminary priests; but, as may well be imagined, a storm was raised by him from which no good was to be expected.

This was one of the points discussed in the well-known consultation[1] at which Fathers Campion and Persons met "certain of the graver priests then remaining in London, whereof two were Mr. Edward Mettam, Bachelor of Divinity, and Mr. Blackwell, Master of Art, and very learned, besides others newly come from beyond the sea." "Divers principal laymen, for their better satisfaction," were also present. On the point of fasting, "the best resolution seemed to be, and most conformable to piety, reason, and union, that nothing should be altered in matter of the fastings from the old customs; but in what shire soever of England (for all had not one custom, but the Church of York some, and Canterbury and London others) the Catholics could remember that the Fridays or any other days or vigils were fasted, the same to be kept and continued now, and the priests always to be the first and most forward to put it in execution; but when such knowledge or remembrance could not be had, then men not to be bound to fast, but yet commended they that would; and this was so much as then seemed necessary to be spoken by way of counsel only, and not of commandment or authority, for direction of priests, for keeping of unity, until God should open the door for further determination by way of authority."

Father Haywood sent full explanations on the subject to Father Persons, and he chose for his messenger an

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 128.

excellent priest named John Curry. His letter arrived when Father Persons was in Spain, and Curry, leaving his business with Father Darbyshire at Paris, entered straightway into the Jesuit Novitiate. When Persons returned he thought it best that Father Curry, though but a novice, should return to England, as the respect borne to him by all Catholics there was calculated to make him a good peacemaker. This father did good service on the English mission for many years. He may be said to have been the friend of martyrs. He had helped Campion to distribute his books.[1] He was "chamber-fellow to Sherwin that was executed,"[2] so says Thomas Dodwell, a spy, in 1584. "And after the departure of the said Patenson," William Holmes, another informer, says, in 1594, and here he is speaking of William Patenson, the martyr, "there came another priest unto the said lady [Sir John Arundell's widow at Chideock], named John Curry, who remained there until the death of [John] Sherwood [a priest], who died in Lent last was twelve months, and as he doth understand, was buried in the chapel of Chideock House. After whose death the said Cornelius [another martyr] and Curry remained together in the same house until Michaelmas last [1593], and then the said Curry went away into London."[3] In the year following another spy called Benjamin Beard, who, it is to be feared, was a Tichborne, reported to Sir John Puckering: "Likewise I understand of one John Curry, who useth about Hogsdon in London, and is a Seminary, and a consort of John Cornelius lately taken, both bred and born in a town called Bodmin, in Cornwall."[4] "In England there are four Jesuits at liberty, Southwell, Garnet [both martyrs], Curry, and another:" this is the report of an apostate priest, John

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 157.
[2] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxviii. n. 34.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. ccxlviii. n. 75.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. ccxlviii. n. 118.

Cecil, *alias* Snowden.[1] "Did he ever know Father Curry, *alias* Castell, Jasper Haywood, or Edmonds, all three Jesuits?" This question was put to John Harrison, and he was "charged that he was in company with Curry, Haywood, and Edmonds, Jesuits, as well the year before as after the Queen's Majesty was at Cowdray [Viscount Montague's house] and heard Mass of them or some of them."[2] Robert Gray, another priest under examination, gives us Father Curry's personal appearance. "Sir George [Browne] brought this examinate to one Mr. Dennis' house at Todham, half a mile from Cowdray, and there Sir George brought this examinate up to a chamber, where they found a man sitting in his cloak, of about forty years old, long, slender-faced, black hair of head, and a little black beard, whom since he heard was Father Curry the Jesuit."[3] To the notes of his enemies we are indebted for some knowledge of one of Father Weston's companions on the mission, of whom, if it had not been for this, we should only have known what Father Gerard tells us in a yet unpublished portion of his Autobiography, that he died in London in the house kept by Mrs. Anne Line, who was afterwards martyred, "and there he lies buried in some secret corner; for those priests who live secretly on the mission, we are obliged also to bury secretly when they die."

That Father Haywood should by indiscretion have caused a division among the Catholics, was not the only trouble awaiting Father Persons at Paris on his return from Spain. Much harm was being done by the course pursued by the two chief confidants of the Queen of Scots, Charles, Lord Paget's brother, and Thomas Morgan. "When I returned to Paris," he says, "I found Mr. Paget and Morgan wholly aversed; but Dr. Allen and I sought all means to regain them again.

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxxxviii. n. 161.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. cclvi. n. 71. [3] *Ibid.* vol. ccxlv. n. 138.

I went first to Rouen, where Mr. Paget lay, and made peace with him; and after went to Paris, and called Dr. Allen thither from Rheims to do the same. We went and lay in the same lodging to perform the matter better, but all would not serve. After this we imparted all our affairs with them, and upon a new agreement Mr. Paget was sent into England, and I went to Rome and Mr. Brinckley with me, whence returning again in a few weeks I found Mr. Paget come from England."[1]

The date of Father Persons' return from Rome we are able to time pretty accurately, for George Gilbert fell into his last illness before Father Persons left Rome, and after his return to Paris, October 28, 1583, he wrote to Father Agazzari hoping that Gilbert was recovered and on his way thither, where his presence was greatly needed; and while he was writing, Agazzari's letter reached him, giving him the news of the death of that true and devoted friend. George Gilbert died in the English College at Rome, after having taken the vows of a Jesuit on his death-bed, October 6, 1583. It was at his expense that the deaths of the English martyrs were painted on the walls of the old church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, attached to the College. In his illness he invoked Sherwin, Briant, and Campion, and he died with the little cross in his hand that Briant had made to be his last comfort.[2] "Blessed be Jesus Christ and the Father of all mercies for this blow also," Father Persons wrote at the news of the death of this noble-hearted friend, "though it is the greatest that ever my soul has felt at the death of any creature soever."[3]

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 230.
[2] Brother Foley's *Jesuits in Conflict*, p. 201.
[3] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 351.

CHAPTER III.

FATHER WESTON'S LANDING IN ENGLAND.

THERE are curious errors and contradictions in the various narratives respecting the date of Father Weston's coming to Paris and departure for England. In the notes of these events that Father Persons made many years afterwards his memory has failed him, for he says[1] that when he returned from Rome to Paris, which was in October, 1583, he there found Father Weston, who after a few days' conference with him on the affairs of the mission, went over into England. Father Henry More at first[2] follows Persons in this error, but immediately afterwards[3] he transfers Father Weston's landing to 1582, misled by Father de Peralta, whose manuscript, written more than thirty years afterwards, gives that date.

Later on in the notes[4] Father Persons gives the exact date of Weston's embarcation as September 12, 1584. This is shown to be correct by the letters of the period. It will be enough to quote in this place an intercepted letter of Father Darbyshire, written from Paris, August 13, 1584, to a Jesuit at Avignon. The letter a few days after its date was in Lord Burghley's hands, and a copy in Walsingham's before the month was out in which it was written, and now it is in the British Museum.[5] "We have here now and have had for some months, Father Robert Persons, of whom, I suppose, you have often heard—Campion's companion. There is also another,

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 53.

[2] P. 141. [3] P. 142. [4] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 74.

[5] *Harleian MSS.* 228, fol. 154.

Father Weston, who not long ago came here from Spain. We are now nine English in this province; praise be to Christ."

We have therefore to carry on the history of the English Jesuit mission a little further, till we can introduce Father Weston into it. Two matters worthy of mention have been passed over, the establishment of the little College at Eu, and the admission of Father John Hart into the Society. The first was a useful undertaking while it lasted, which, however, was not long. Up to that time boys who had come over young, and therefore had to be taught Latin, had been sent to Pont-a-Musson to be prepared for Rheims. This was an expensive journey, and Father Persons, finding that the Duke of Guise had built a new College at Eu for the Fathers of the Society, begged to have the old one as a college for the English lads. The Duke gave the use of the building, and an income of 100*l.* a year for its maintenance. A secular priest named Mann, *alias* Chambers, who died at Douay soon after the closing of the College, was made Rector. However, at the death of the Duke in 1589, it was given up.

The admission of Father John Hart into the Society, which belongs to the beginning of 1583, is an instructive history. His is one of the cases in which the opening of the State Papers has betrayed to us a weakness that was unknown to the Catholics of his own time. An Oxfordshire man by birth, and Master of Arts at Oxford, he went over to Douay in 1571, was made Bachelor of Divinity in that University in 1577, and priest in the following year. He was apprehended at Dover as he landed in June, 1580, "and sent prisoner to the Court," as Father Persons relates.[1] "And for that he was a very comely young gentleman, and his father and friends well known, and his talents greatly liked by Sir Francis Walsingham, the Secretary,

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 132.

that had the examination of him, they would fain have gotten or perverted him by sweet means; and so after commendations of his person and protestation of goodwill by Sir Francis, as Mr. Hart himself told me afterward the whole story in France and Italy, he gave him leave to go to Oxford for three months, upon condition that he should confer with one John Reynolds, a minister of Corpus Christi College, about controversies of religion, which Mr. Hart accepted, both for that he desired by that occasion to see his friends and to settle better his temporal affairs whatsoever should happen, as also for that though he were young, yet feared he little whatsoever John Reynolds or any other could say in defence of heresy against the Catholic religion. Wherefore after the end of these three months, he presented himself to Sir Francis Walsingham again, as resolute in his religion as before, and somewhat more by the weakness he had perceived in his conferences, though in so bad a cause he was one of the best the other side had. Sir Francis would gladly have taken more time of conference, but in the end seeing little or no hope to pervert him, he sent him to the prison of the Marshalsea, as for religion only, and so he remained there until it was resolved by the Council to make all priests' cases treason, and then he was sent to the Tower and used most barbarously and arraigned and condemned among the rest, and divers times to have been executed but that by reason of his good friends he was still reprieved, until at last in the year [1585] he was cast into banishment with divers other priests, who going to Italy entered into the Society of Jesus, as he had greatly desired and vowed in time of his imprisonment, and after was sent by his Superior into Polony, where he died most godly, as ever he had lived; and this much of this notable confessor, Mr. John Hart."

To have accepted a temporal advantage on condition of conference with a Protestant minister, was to do what

the martyrs would not have held to be lawful. Father Persons probably regarded the offer only as a challenge to controversy. For such a disputation with Sir George Carey, the Knight Marshal, Hart offered himself together with Sherwin and Bosgrave, when prisoner in the Marshalsea. He was transferred to the Tower with Father Bosgrave, on the 29th of December, 1580, as we learn from Rishton's Diary, the next entry in which is that "John Hart, after five days with no bed but the ground, was taken to the rack." Through that year he persevered with constancy, and on the day after Father Campion's condemnation, he was tried with several who were martyred, and like them he had sentence pronounced against him. In the records of the Queen's Bench the warrants[1] are to be seen ordering the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver up Campion, Sherwin, Bryant, and Hart, to the sheriffs for execution on the 1st of December, and requiring the Sheriffs of the City of London to receive them and see their sentence carried out at Tyburn. "Father Campion was alone on one hurdle, and the other two together on the other," Bishop Challoner says in one place, and in another, "On the day designed for execution, he was by a reprieve taken off the sledge and returned to prison." Why he did not occupy the place on the hurdle by Campion's side, the Catholics of his time never knew. The sad secret is betrayed to us by the letter that he wrote to Walsingham,[2] which bears date the very day which might have brought the crown of martyrdom to him as to Campion, Sherwin, and Bryant. It is a vile letter, in which, having professed "conformity" with most solemn attestations, he now proposes that he shall be sent over to Dr. Allen, who would keep nothing secret from him, after "suffering for the cause which liketh him so well, when as he shall now understand of my stoutness, that it

[1] P.R.O., *Controlment Rolls*, Michaelmas Term, 24 Elizabeth, rot. 24.
[2] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cl. n. 80.

hath been such as to abide a whole year and more close imprisonment, and that in the Tower, the only name whereof is very terrible abroad; yea, and yet much more, to have been at the rack (though I endured nothing therein, but that is unknown to him), to have been indicted, arraigned, and condemned for the same, as both he and his fellows (I know it) are fully persuaded, and now presently do stand at her Majesty's mercy for my life, without any speeches, as I suppose, yet openly known, otherwise than to your Honour and a few others who are secret enough for that matter, that I am so minded as I have professed to your Honours to reform my life according to her Majesty's godly and virtuous proceedings," which would "better serve for the setting forth of that true cause indeed which your Honour, under her Majesty, doth so mightily defend: I mean the religion this day professed in this noble realm of England; for as for my bare yielding and reforming of myself, which I have promised to your Honour unfeignedly, though it may do some good thereunto by giving others of my profession example to do the like, yet that thing is not of such importance as this which hitherto I have spoken of, and which is more than may be done by many others with as great profit as by me."

No doubt it was what he protested it was not, "to the intent that he would put the neck out of the collar again," and once safe at Rheims, repent as best he might of his apostacy; but who that knows his own weakness can throw the first stone at one who yielded to save his life? It makes the heart sick to read such words on such a day; and it is a relief to see that six weeks afterwards the confessor, though his was not a martyr's spirit, was himself again. Luke Kirby, the martyr, in his letter from the Tower, given by Dr. Challoner, says, "Mr. Hart hath had many and great conflicts with his adversaries. This morning, the 10th of January [1582], he was committed to the dungeon, where he now remaineth; God comfort

him. He taketh it very quietly and patiently. The cause was for that he would not yield to Mr. Reynolds, of Oxford, in any one point, but still remained constant, the same man he was before and ever." And Rishton enters in his Diary for January 11, 1582, "John Hart, priest, because after his condemnation he would not yield in anything to the heretics, was put into the pit for nine days." It is hard to see what they could have asked that he would not have done on that 1st of December; but he must have repented at once, for something was required of him to which he would not yield when he was consigned for nine days to that awful *oubliette* underground. Nichols, the apostate, was at once set at liberty when he undertook to preach against the Pope, and Hart would have been also set free, or at any rate would not have been punished, if he had not repented of his fall. The interpretation of the change in Hart is probably to be found in the fact, told by Allen to Agazzari in a letter,[1] dated the 7th of February, 1582, that his mother had been to visit him in the Tower, and that she, "a gentlewoman of a noble spirit, spoke to him in such lofty terms of martyrdom, that if she found him hot with the desire of it, she left him on fire; and the report of this great deed on her part, and its merited promise, was wide-spread among the Catholics."

On the anniversary of the day when he should have died, his name reappears in Rishton's Diary, December 1, 1582. "John Hart, priest, under sentence of death, was punished by twenty days in irons, for not yielding to one Reynolds a minister." And six months later, June 19, 1583, "The same John Hart for the same offence was put into the pit for four-and-forty days."

There is no need that we should doubt his sincerity when he wrote,[2] November 15, 1582, to Dr. Allen, that he knew how welcome his letter would be because it was

[1] Bartoli, *Inghilterra*, lib. iv. cap. xi. p. 293.
[2] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 39.

written from prison. Some sad things had happened which he would leave others to tell: he would relate only good news. Pitts and Haydock were little men with great courage. Pound, Brinckley, and Roscarrock were laymen who, he was ashamed to say, had shown themselves braver than many priests. Jetter and Carter had been nearly killed on the rack, but nothing could be drawn from them but the Name of Jesus; Jetter especially at such a time had shown his sense of the sweetness of that Name. "Of myself I dare to make no profession, but this one thing only will I say, Thomson, Bosgrave, Colleton, Slack, Rowsham, Godsalf, Orton, Barnes, Briscoe, all of us by the grace of Christ are in the Faith, and there is not one of us who is not resolved to hold the Faith and fight against heresy, though it were necessary to shed his blood for his religion."

In March, 1583, Allen wrote to Agazzari that he had received many letters from the prisoners, but that they could not be published without questions being raised how they had been sent: however, he forwarded one from "Hart, that constant confessor, who desires to enter your Society." Immediately afterwards, while still carrying on the correspondence of the Society during the absence of Persons in Spain, Dr. Allen acknowledges the receipt from Father General of the admission of John Hart into the Society, and promises to send it to him because he knew that it would give him the greatest consolation. Thus we see that Rishton was correct when he says that amongst the twenty-one exiles sent from the Tower on the 21st of January, 1585, three were Jesuit Fathers, Jasper Haywood, James Bosgrave, and John Hart. And on the other hand that More is wrong in saying that Hart entered at Verdun, and that Persons' memory failed him when he said that he became a Jesuit in Italy, two years after the date of his actual admission. When banished in 1585 he went first to Verdun, then to Rome, and he

died at Jarislau, in Poland, on the 19th of July in the following year. The doubt whether it was in 1586 or in 1594 is set at rest by the Douay Diary, which enters the news of his death as received in September, 1586. Father More reports that seven years after his death his body was found to be incorrupt, and was translated to a more honourable resting-place. None can doubt that the Lord who retained in His Apostleship the chiefest of the Apostles by whom He was denied, pardoned this fall, and that, though the palm of martyrdom was forfeited, yet sufferings and exile have received their reward.

It will have been seen that Father Haywood was in the Tower of London with Father Hart. His apprehension happened thus. On Father Persons' return from Rome in October, 1583, he brought back with him a letter from Father Aquaviva, the General, to Father Haywood, requesting him to come over to France to confer with his Superior, on account, no doubt, of the want of discretion shown by him with regard to the English fasting days. Father Persons, when he sent him the letter, named Rouen for their place of meeting. Father Jaspar started immediately on receipt of these instructions, and the ship in which he sailed was in sight of the French coast, and almost of port, when it was driven back by a foul wind, and the father fell into the hands of his enemies. In the first instance he was committed to the Clink, but was soon transferred to the Tower. A certificate from the keeper of the Clink to the lords of the Council,[1] dated March 21, 1584, contains this entry: "Jaspar Haywood, a Jesuit, committed by your Honours the 9th day of December last, and committed from her Majesty's Bench at Westminster to the Tower.". By his apprehension no Jesuit in England was left at liberty at the beginning of 1584, he and Father Bosgrave being in the Tower, Father Mettam and Brother Pound in Wisbech Castle.

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxix. n. 23.

Failing thus of his intended conference with Father Haywood, Father Persons returned from Rouen to Paris, where Dr. Allen came from Rheims to meet him. Their object was to see whether it might not be possible to save Lord Paget and Sir Charles Arundell, who had just crossed the Channel, from the course followed by Charles Paget and Morgan. Unfortunately they failed, and Father Persons speaks in his notes[1] of the suspicions raised by their intimacy with the English Ambassador; suspicions which, as far as Sir Charles Arundell was concerned, are fully borne out by the correspondence of the English Ambassador at Paris, Sir Edward Stafford, preserved among the State Papers.[2]

Before the return of Father Persons from Rome, the Duke of Parma, by direction of the King of Spain, sent for him to come to him in Flanders, that he might confer with him on the position of the English Catholics in the Low Countries. The winter of 1583 was accordingly spent by him at Tournai, in company with the Duke and with Father Oliverius Manareus, the Visitor of that Province.

"About Corpus Christi day," says Father Persons,[3] "I returned from Flanders to France, and in the way passing from Ghent to Oudenarde, Mr. Owen and I were in great peril to be taken by the English soldiers of Mechlin, if we had not escaped by flight, as I did before on my journey from Louvain to Beveren, where all our carts and convoy were taken, and I escaped by the benefit of a good horse.

"The rest then of this summer I remained at Paris, and Mons. Duke of Alençon being dead, there was much parleying between the princes for making their league that brake forth the next spring after: whereupon I,

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 57.
[2] *The Letter-Books of Sir Amias Poulet*, p. 381.
[3] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 231.

buying myself divers sorts of good books, returned to live for the next winter at Rouen, in a void house given to the 'Society in a garden, where were with me Mr. Stephen Brinckley, a virtuous gentleman that translated Loarte's book under the name of James Sanker, and Mr. Flinton, an honest merchant, who both of them did help me to set forth my second edition of the *Book of Resolution* much augmented."

When Persons was in Rome he had arranged with Father Claude Aquaviva that Weston was to go to England. The summons reached him early in 1584. The journey across Spain and France from Seville to Paris is hardly an easy one now-a-days; it was difficult enough then. Father Weston was going to a country where difficulties abounded. A spirit of mortification alone could make light of them, and that spirit of mortification he lost no opportunity of strengthening by practice. He was provided by his superiors with a horse and money for his journey. The horse he sold, and all the money of which he became master was distributed to the poor. New clothes were placed in his room, but he left them behind him and there they were found after he was gone. He would travel on foot, and, like the first fathers of the Society in their journeys, beg his way. The practice of holy poverty in its hardest form was the completion of his preparation for the mission. His first duty was to see Father Persons, and then to go to England.

Father Weston had evidently reached Paris, and was with Persons when the latter wrote, under the date July 23, 1584, to beg the General not to be moved by the dissuasions of the French Provincial, Father Claude Matthieu, whose tender heart was touched by the adversities suffered by the Catholics in England, and who thought that it would be better for a time to send over neither missionaries nor books. Persons, fearing lest this timid and suicidal policy should prevail, urged on the General

that he should send other fathers on the English mission. "Now[1] more than ever is our time to go forward, seeing that God helps us so manifestly in our battles; so I pray your Paternity for the love of God quickly to send Father Henry [Garnet] from Rome, for the more I think of it the more satisfied I am of his fitness. And this Father William [Weston], if I am not greatly deceived, your Paternity may trust that he will prove excellently well adapted for this work, for he is a thoroughly trustworthy man for all virtue, prudence, and edification; and by being here, what with reading some books and by hearing conversations on the matters over there, he has become beyond belief on fire about it."

They were together in Paris a little more than three months. This is the time of which Father Darbyshire says that there were nine English Jesuits in the French province, but we are not acquainted with the names of more than four or five. Brother Ralph Emerson was sent down to Dieppe to make preparations for their passage, and on the 20th of August Persons wrote to Aquaviva,[2] "Ralph is just returned from the sea, where he has done wonders. He has planned two new ways of passage, by which he has sent in four priests and eight hundred and ten books, but it has cost us dearly. Father Weston in another twenty days will be at the sea with Ralph." Father Persons parted from them in Paris on the 12th of September, and immediately after their departure he wrote several letters. One was to the General, a long letter,[3] in which he says that it is becoming exceedingly difficult to obtain the funds to carry on the mission, for that now there were not less than three hundred Seminary priests in England, there were at least two hundred persons to be maintained at Rheims in the College, and nearly as many more who were not in the College, gentlemen for

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 73. [2] *Ibid.*, *P.* fol. 461.
[3] *Ibid.*, *P.* fol. 494.

the most part who were stripped of their possessions and sent into exile, and that the Catholics in England who had hitherto helped them, were themselves greatly impoverished by the system of fines, and had a grave and increasing burden in the maintenance of the poor prisoners who were suffering extremely from want. Of the Society, he says that Father Holt is the only one at liberty, and he in Scotland; but that he has the greatest hopes from the two fathers and the brother who had just gone over. The second father here spoken of must be John Curry.

On the 13th he tells Agazzari that he was obliged to start immediately for Rouen, and sends his salutations to Fathers Good, Enghiam, and Southwell.[1] Two days after he wrote again to the same,[2] expressing his regret at the news that had reached him of Father Enghiam's death, which took place at Eu on his way to England. Richard Enghiam had been "a boy of her Majesty's chapel,"[3] several of the choristers of which had become Catholics.

Father Persons proposes that Father Thomas Marshall, who had taught philosophy for nine years at Douay, should be made confessor of the English College, as he showed greater fitness for that position than for the work of the mission, and that would set free Father William Good for England. "Your Reverence must treat with our Father General to send either Father Good or Father Henry [Garnet], who, I hear, cannot go on with his lectures for want of health. I should be content with Father Simon Hunt or Father Southwell if his Paternity should think fit to send them." Garnet and Southwell left Rome together for the English mission about eighteen months after this. Father Christopher Grene concludes[4] that Father Southwell

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 452. [2] *Ibid.*, *P.* fol. 478.
[3] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxlvi. n. 18.
[4] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 303.

was newly ordained priest about the time when Persons wrote these letters, for before July, 1584, he always speaks of him as his "dearest brother Robert," but after that date he is always "Father Robert."

By the 30th of this same month of September Persons was at Rouen, driven from Paris, as he wrote to Agazzari,[1] by the plague breaking out in the house next to him there. He says that Charles Basset was with him, and that Father William and Ralph had embarked twelve days before. In two months' time he had to bear the loss of Charles Basset, who died at Rheims in November. He was a great grandson of Sir Thomas More,[2] an intimate friend of George Gilbert, and his rival in making generous sacrifices for religion. He left his money to Douay College, which was then removed for a time to Rheims.[3] In the letter in which Persons mentions his death to Agazzari, he also says, "Yesterday I had a letter from your Father Oliver Holiwell [a secular priest from the English College at Rome], who is doing much good; and all write in the highest terms of Father Weston and of Ralph, *supra modum*."

We may now let Father Weston tell his own story in his Autobiography. It was written, we must remember, between twenty and thirty years after the time at which its narrative commences, and having been written by command of the General, it has something of a confidential character. The lapse of centuries has made that which he has written public property; but the time and circumstances under which it was written are not to be forgotten during its perusal. Its beginning in a single line disposes of the painful journey on foot from Seville to Paris.

"Being summoned by an order from our Father General to set out to labour in the harvest of souls in England, I left Seville and travelled to Paris. There I tarried for

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 478. [2] *Ibid.*, *P.* fol. 17.
[3] *Ibid.*, *P.* fol. 38.

some days, and conversed with Father Persons. Then, with Ralph Emerson, who had been appointed me as my companion, I went to Rouen, and on to the harbour of Dieppe, where I embarked, and, having a fair wind, arrived within sight of England in the middle of the day. On the open coast, between two ports, we were set ashore; myself, that is to say, and Henry Hubert, whose house had been plundered shortly before by the heretics, he himself escaping to France to wait until their fury might be appeased. We two, in company with his servant, arrived by the shortest cuts at the house of a friend, the familiar acquaintance of the above-mentioned Henry. Ralph, meanwhile, remained in the ship with the baggage; for we had agreed that in the dead of the night we would send him a horse for the conveyance of our goods, and likewise of the books, of which he had brought over no small number for distribution in England. This we accomplished with all speed; everything so far prospered, and when he joined us all his treasures were safe and uninjured.

"On the next day, however, arrangements being made for sailing by the river, Ralph intrusted his cargo of books to a light boat, and went to Norwich, for from thence it is the custom that goods and merchandize should be conveyed by the public riders and carriers from the neighbouring places to London. As for ourselves, we took horse, proceeded by gentle stages, and arrived first in London. After we had entered the city by an open and much-frequented street, a person met us, who addressed Henry openly and simply by his name, at which we became not a little uneasy, seeing that he had striven with all possible precautions to prevent his return out of France from being known. Nevertheless, we entered an hostelry and dined there; then, departing without loss of time, we turned towards a distant quarter of the city, and waited with anxiety for Ralph's arrival. As I was myself, however, entirely unknown, I took courage and often went out to

the spot where the carmen from Norwich were wont to assemble, looking and waiting for my friend Ralph, whom, with all joy, I met at length in the middle of the road.

"I questioned him about the condition of our affairs, and he told me that all was right, but that the baggage was still detained in the inn, and that it was not possible for it to be removed without the host's consent and permission. Here we could not make up our minds as to what course we ought to pursue. It would be too painful and cowardly to abandon the books; and yet to claim and redeem them seemed full of peril. On both sides the difficulty was great; he judged it best, however, to surmount all fear, and not to relinquish lightly what had been intrusted to his fidelity. He was confident, also, that in a case of extremity friends would aid him to carry out his purpose. Committing his business, therefore, first to God, he returned with courage to the inn, where he was immediately arrested and brought before a magistrate. Having already searched the packages, they examined Ralph concerning the books, and thrust him into a dark and narrow prison. There they kept him for a year and more, and so strictly that with all our inquiries we were unable to find out what had become of him or where they had concealed him. We thought that he must have been transferred to the Tower of London, whereas the prison in which they really placed him was the one called the Poultry."

In the Counter in the Poultry poor Brother Ralph was accordingly cooped up. After more than a year and a half, when the keepers of the London prisons were called upon by the Privy Council to make a return of the Jesuits or recusants in their custody, the Counter contained no other Catholic but Ralph. "May it please your Honours to understand that we have no more in our custody but one Ralph Emerson, for bringing over certain books touching some of the honourable Council, who was committed the 26th of September, anno 1584, by Sir Edward

Osborne, then Lord Mayor of London, examined before him, Mr. Topcliffe, Justice Young, the Master of St. Catharine's, and others at sundry times. We have no recusants or Jesuits but only the aforenamed Ralph Emerson, whose examination remaineth in the hands of the said Justices or town clerk. Your Honours' most humble, —ROBERT GYTTYNS, keeper." *Endorsed*, "14th June, 1586. The keeper of the Counter in the Poultry."[1] And Popham signed a report, September 25, 1586, that he had "examined Ralph Emerson, committed by the lords for bringing in books from beyond the seas, and was servant to Persons or Campion."[2]

It is plain enough what the books were that cost Little Ralph so dear. Two of Dr. Allen's books were just published; the *Duo Edicta* of Elizabeth, that is, her two proclamations against the Seminaries and Jesuits, published at Trèves in 1583, evidently under the editorship of Father Gibbons; and Allen's *Apologia* and *Admonition to the Afflicted Catholics.* This, and Father Persons' recent books, and perhaps Father Gibbons' *Concertatio*, may have constituted the staple of Ralph's confiscated cargo, together with the Rheims New Testament, which had not long been published; and the newest book of all, Dr. Allen's *Modest Defence of the English Catholics that suffer for their faith both at home and abroad.* This was the book "touching some of the honourable Council," for it was an answer to Lord Treasurer Burghley's *Execution of Justice in England.* Allen's book was so obnoxious to Elizabeth's Ministers that Thomas Alfield, one of the Douay priests, was indicted, not for his priesthood, but for disseminating this book, from which long extracts are given in the indictment.[3] Alfield was hanged as a felon for this offence on the 5th of July, 1585. Emerson was treated with comparative leniency, his life being spared; though the first

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxc. n. 32. [2] *Ibid.* vol. cxciii. n. 66.
[3] *Lansdowne MSS.* 33, n. 58; Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 449.

three years of his long imprisonment were spent in one of the most miserable prisons in London.

When he had been in prison nine years he was examined by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners,[1] and Lord Keeper Puckering's note of the examination is printed, in a curtailed form, by Strype. "April 17, 1593, Ralph Emerson, of the bishopric of Durham, scholar, of the age of forty-two years or thereabouts, examined before Sir Owen Hopton, Mr. Dr. Goodman, Dean of Westminster, Mr. Dale, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Young, who refuseth to be sworn, but saith first that he hath been in prison these nine years, viz., three years and a quarter in the Counter in the Poultry, and the rest of that time hath been in the Clink; committed by Mr. Young for bringing over of books called *My Lord of Leicester's books*, as he saith; and hath been examined before Sir Francis Walsingham and before Mr. Young, and before others divers times, and was never indicted to his knowledge. *Item*, he confesseth he is a lay Jesuit; took that degree at Rome fourteen years since, and was some time Campion's boy. And saith that when he took that order he did vow chastity, poverty, and obedience to the Superior of their house; and if he sent him to the Turk he must go. *Item*, being urged to take the oath of allegiance to her Majesty, refuseth the same, and saith he may not take any oath. *Item*, he saith he hath neither lands, goods, nor other living, but will not set down by whom he is maintained and now relieved. *Item*, he refuseth to be reformed and to come to church, affirming that he will live and die in his faith. *Item*, being demanded whether if the Pope shall send an army into this realm to establish that which he calleth the Catholic Romish religion, he would in the like case fight for the Queen's Majesty on her side against the said army, or on the army's side, saith that he will never fight against her Majesty, nor against the religion which he professeth."

[1] *Harleian MSS.* 6998, fol. 65; Strype's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 258;

There we must leave Little Ralph, confident in his constancy through his continuous imprisonment for the twenty years remaining of Elizabeth's reign. He was taken on the 26th of September, and on the 9th of October an informer, one Ralph Miller, a tailor, gave the following description of him,[1] not knowing that he was already in durance. "There is a little fellow called Ralph, who is in England for Father Persons, is a great dealer for all the Papists. He is a very slender, brown little fellow, of whom Harrington [the martyr] can tell more certainly." Thus Ralph Emerson's coming over served but to add one more to the number of the members of the Society whose zeal and patience were to be exercised within prison walls. That this was far from a barren field to cultivate, Father Gerard's narrative[2] helps to show. In the Clink Ralph was next-door neighbour to Father Gerard, and afterwards we shall meet him again with Father Weston at Wisbech.

CHAPTER IV.

FATHER WESTON'S FIRST SHELTER.

"SUCH was Ralph's misadventure," Father Weston continues, "at the time of our first entrance into England. We, however, in the meantime did not cease our prayers to God while we remained in the inn, imploring that good success might attend him. But when we perceived that he delayed to appear, and when we saw nothing of him either on that day or the following, we suspected what must have occurred, and, in despair of Ralph's coming, began to consult what we were ourselves to do.

"The difficulties that surrounded us were by no means

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxxiii. n. 64.
[2] *Condition of Catholics*, p. lxx.

light; for as he was to have acted as our guide, and have introduced us into the houses of our friends and of other Catholics, we could not easily determine what was at present to be done. I had received from Father Persons certain introductions and tokens of friendship addressed to a gentlewoman of the name of Be[llamy], of whom further mention will be made. She had been the hostess of Father Persons, and as her house was spacious and she herself was wealthy, and, being a zealous Catholic, full of goodwill towards the father, under her roof he had done much work, as I heard, and written much.

"Now the house of this lady was three leagues or more beyond London; to it, therefore, we went, requesting to speak with her. As soon as she appeared I delivered my tokens, secretly, however, as was necessary in such circumstances. She declared, nevertheless, that my words were perfectly strange to her, as she had never seen Father Persons or known him in any way; much less was it possible that any such messages should pass between them. Seeing, then, that I must make no delay, I departed quickly, thinking that it was of no use to press the matter further. I imagined myself to be walking upon unsafe ground, and feared lest I had made some mistake either in the house or the person, or that circumstances themselves might have changed, as is frequently the case in such a disturbed state of the kingdom. Henry and I, therefore, called for our horses and withdrew, but by a different road from the one by which we had arrived. We were afraid lest, if by chance we had come to the house of an enemy, messengers might be despatched who would either search or arrest us as enemies to the State.

"Our anxiety was not altogether without foundation; for, as it was afterwards reported to us, she had given refuge to three or four Catholic priests, who lay hidden in her house, and to another person, a layman, and impostor, who passed himself off as a Catholic, and made an

iniquitous pretence of religion. This man, as soon as we were gone, followed us in order to find out what manner of men we were; but as we changed our route, and he himself pursued the public highway, he was deceived in his expectations. Later on he assumed his real character as a traitor and notorious persecutor, and brought affliction upon many persons and confusion into families; not long, however, with impunity, for he paid the just penalty of his crimes under the sword of an enemy with whom he was engaged in a quarrel, and died a miserable death."

The house to which Father Weston had gone was the manor-house of Woxindon, or Uxendon, at Harrow-on-the-Hill, which manor was granted by Richard II. to Thomas Godelac, or Goodlack, an ancestor of the Bellamys.[1] Thomasine Goodlack, his daughter and heiress, married Sir John Boys, and their great grandson, Thomas Boys of Harrow, married Joan, the sister and heiress of John Nix, Bishop of Norwich in Henry VII.'s time. They had two daughters, Mabel and Plesaunce, of whom the elder married Richard Bellamy of Hedley, Middlesex, bringing to her husband the manor of Uxendon, and the right to quarter the arms of Boys, Goodlack, and Nix.[2] Their son William married Catharine, the daughter of Richard Page of Harrow, and at the time of Father Weston's visit William was dead, and Uxendon was in the possession of his eldest son, Richard Bellamy, and his wife Catharine, the daughter of William Forster of Cobdock, in Suffolk. This was the devoted household which for many years was the most famous refuge for priests in the south of England. An incessant and unequal warfare was carried on with the pursuivants, who looked, in the first instance, when in search of a "seminary," to the Bellamys. In a note of "houses that are to be searched,"[3] August 21,

[1] Lyson's *Environs of London*, vol. ii. p. 563.
[2] *Harleian MSS.* 1551, fol. 5.
[3] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcii. n. 48.

1586, the first on the list is "Mrs. Bellamy's house: one house she hath called Okington [Uxendon] at Harrow-of-the-Hill, the other house in Kentish Town by Pankeridge."

When Father Weston arrived, the widowed mother of Richard Bellamy was yet alive. We hear something of her in the "offer" of a subsidy[1] which she was obliged to make, in common with all the recusants of the kingdom, to arm her Majesty against the Spaniards. "Catharine Bellamy, widow, saith that she is very aged and sickly, and is indebted above 60*l.*, and that all her living was never above 60*l.* a year, being her jointure, and that she is charged with the keeping of divers of her children, and therefore to get her debts paid, and to be discharged of her labour and travail about the husbandry of her living, which resteth chiefly upon tillage, she about one year past hath devised all her lands and tenements unto her son, Thomas Bellamy, reserving to herself 30*l.* rent. And further she saith that she did lately pay for the furnishing of an horse 25*l.*, and yet she is willing to offer to her Majesty 10*l.* yearly, and more would do if she were able, —K. B., 14th March, 1585."

Her brother, William Page, makes an "offer" likewise, into which an error must have crept as to the value of his "living."[2] "28° die Martii, 1585. William Page of Harrow, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, saith that his living is not above 10*l.* a year, yet nevertheless he will give 10*l.* yearly,—WILL. PAGE."

It is probable that all the Page family were not Catholics, for in the Letters Patent in the 14th year of Elizabeth's reign (1571–2), incorporating the school that John Lyon had just founded, which has made the name of Harrow famous, the first Governors of the school were Sir Gilbert Gerard, the Attorney-General, John Page of Wembley, and Thomas Page of Sudbury Court. Wembley

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxxxvii. n. 48 xiii.
[2] *Ibid.* n. 48 xi.

was a manor that once belonged to the Priory of Kilburn, and this John Page lived to see seventy-five children and grandchildren, and died in 1623. A manuscript history of Harrow in the British Museum,[1] written at the beginning of this century, says that "Wembley belongs to Richard Page, Esq. It was conveyed to his ancestor in 1543, and furnishes almost the only instance in Middlesex of a family now existing, resident proprietors for two centuries and a half. Woxendon, or Uxendon, is also the property of Richard Page, Esq.," to whose family it passed from the Bellamys, early in the last century.

Father Francis Page, S.J., who was martyred in 1602, was a member of this family, and brought up a Protestant. He was converted by Father Gerard, and has left as a record of his imprisonment in the Tower of London, as narrated by that father,[2] an inscription on the walls of the Beauchamp Tower, "*Dieu est mon esperance,*— F. PAGE." William Page, whose "offer" has just been given, was a Catholic; and he is the "Uncle Page, a close prisoner by Mr. Topcliffe's commandment," of whom Richard Bellamy speaks. This was not his only imprisonment. A note in the State Papers says: "Counter in Wood Street. William Page committed by the lords [of the Privy Council], discharged by Mr. Young, 8th October [1586]."[3]

This was an arrest on occasion of the Babington Plot. His sister, Catharine Bellamy, the widow, was arrested at the same time. "Mrs. Catharine Bellamy was committed to the Fleet on Saturday, the 14th of August, 1586."[4] She was soon removed to the Tower of London,[5] and her name appears in a list of prisoners in the Tower, September 25, 1586, signed by Chief Justice Popham, where she is bracketed with Sir Thomas Gerard.

[1] *Harleian MSS.* 2211. [2] *Condition of Catholics*, p. cx.
[3] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxv. n. 34.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. cxcii. n. 49. [5] *Ibid.* vol. cxcv. n. 34.

"Sir Thomas Gerard, knight } both indicted of high
Catharine Bellamy, widow } treason."

It was resolved by the Privy Council that the aged and sickly widow should not be spared. "The lords' resolution upon prisoners, November 30, 1586," says, "Catharine Bellamy, indicted for harbouring of traitors and seminaries, to be proceeded against in course of law."[1] And more significant still, the original notes[2] in Sir Francis Walsingham's hand, order "Kat Bellami To be arrayned and condempned." In those days a Secretary of State could take for granted that condemnation of a Papist would follow arraignment. The good widow died a martyr's death in the Tower of London, the hardships of which rendered a public execution unnecessary. Her youngest son, Jeremy, was executed with Ballard and Babington, September 21, 1586; and he found general sympathy, for his sole offence was that he had relieved Barnwell and Dunne, who had hidden themselves in a wood near Harrow. Another of her sons (probably Bartholomew) shared her imprisonment in the Tower, and gained with her the martyr's crown, for he died under torture in that cruel place.

She had in all six children: Richard, the eldest, to whom we return presently; Thomas, whose name occurs in her "offer" (who settled at Studley, in Buckinghamshire, and married Catharine, heiress of John Symonds of South Mimms); Bartholomew, Robert, and Jeremy; and one daughter, Dorothy, the wife of Anthony Frankyshe of Water Stothard, Bucks, who died in 1574, and whose tomb, Lysons tells us, was in the nave of Harrow Church.

Robert's sufferings for religion are shown by an entry in a list[3] of prisoners in Newgate, June 13, 1586, when he had been confined eighteen months in that prison. "Robert Bellamy, late of Harrow-upon-the-Hill, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, was committed unto Newgate the

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv. n. 32. [2] *Ibid.* vol. cxcv. n. 30.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. cxc. n. 29.

30th day of January, 1585, by Mr. Young and other of the commissioners for the Romish religion; and at the sessions holden the 18th day of April, 1586, was convicted for the hearing of Mass, and had judgment accordingly." His name appears as prisoner in the Clink, in a list dated December 7, 1586, where he is called "Robert Bellamy of London, yeoman, committed by Mr. Young the 30th of June, 1585."[1] "Jan." and "June" are easily mistaken for one another, so that the month of his arrest is doubtful. The penalty for hearing Mass, by the 23rd Eliz., cap. 1, was one hundred marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) and one year's imprisonment. But hearing Mass was adjudged[2] to be "procuring or maintaining a minister" to say a service other than that of the Common Prayer-Book, and the penalty, by the Act of Uniformity,[3] was "for the first offence a hundred marks, or if that be not paid in six weeks, six months' imprisonment; for the second offence, four hundred marks, or that not paid in six weeks, one year's imprisonment; for the third offence, forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment for life."

Robert was arrested very shortly after Father Weston's visit, and was kept in Newgate fifteen months before trial. It is interesting to learn that the Mass for hearing which he was punished, was said by one of the martyrs. William Thompson, called Blackburn, from the place of his birth, suffered at Tyburn on the 20th April, 1586. The martyr was taken prisoner with Robert Bellamy, and tried at the same sessions. This and other particulars respecting the adventures and sufferings of Robert during the next seven years, we learn from his examination[4] in the Marshalsea in April, 1593.

"Robert Bellamy of Harrow-at-Hill, gentleman, of fifty-two years, examined, saith that he hath been in prison

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxv. n. 51.
[2] Dyer's *Reports*, 203. [3] 1 Eliz. cap. ii.
[4] Strype's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 259.

six years. First, being taken with Blackburn, a Seminary priest, in his house at Mass, with divers others. Committed to Newgate. Indicted for hearing of Mass, according to the statute. Did afterwards break prison, with others, and fled into Scotland, and from thence into Germany; and there taken by Duke Casimir, and by him sent into England. Then committed by Sir Francis Walsingham. By the means of Robert Robinson, who had twenty marks[1] for his labour, being a suitor to the Privy Council, was by their Honours set at liberty. Afterwards committed again by Mr. Young and other commissioners, about twelve months since, or somewhat more. Then in Easter set at liberty again, upon bonds taken with sureties that he should appear at the next sessions; in the meantime, should resort to the Dean of Westminster for conference. And again, being committed by Mr. Young for being in the court as a man suspected. But will not yet come to church.

"Being demanded, if any army shall come into this realm by the Catholic Romish authority, sent from the Pope to establish the Catholic Romish religion (as he calleth it) within this realm, whether in the like case he would fight for the Queen's Majesty against such an army, or against the Queen's Majesty and her forces on the said army's side, saith he will fight for the Queen's Majesty against any such army, and this he affirmeth upon his oath. Saith he hath not been at church these fifteen years; but yet is not indicted for recusancy."

We now turn to the eldest brother, Richard Bellamy, and his wife Catharine. They had five children, Frith and Thomas, Audrey, Mary, and Anne, and from the last of these came the affliction that cost them more sorrow than all the persecution they underwent. The story is well known how this poor girl, when a helpless prisoner, was despoiled of her virtue and, driven to despair, married her

[1] The mark was 13*s.* 4*d.*

gaoler, and became in his hands an instrument for the destruction of her father's house, and of the priests who risked their lives for her soul. She betrayed Father Robert Southwell, and appeared as a witness against him at his trial.[1] It is of her that her father speaks in the conclusion of the following paper.

It was in opposition to some petition on the part of the Bellamys that Topcliffe wrote the "exceptions" which they have attempted to answer. The following is what they presented to Lord Keeper Puckering[2]—

"Mr. Topcliffe: his Exceptions to this Petition.

"It is especially known to the Queen's Majesty that Bellamy's houses be within six miles of four or five of her ordinary houses and courts.

"1. This Richard Bellamy and his wife be to be charged never to have lived in obedience to her Majesty's laws but in disobedience and infamously, for he and his wife have received, relieved, and harboured in their house 15 or 16 Jesuits and Seminary priests sithence the statute of 27mo. Elizabeth Reginæ [1584–5], boarded them a long while, all being of the most traitorous sort of practisers.

"A true Answer to Mr. Topcliffe's Exceptions against Richard Bellamy and his wife.

"If the said Bellamy's house were within so few poles as they are miles which is 8 or 9 at the least, he trusteth in God he should never be dangerous or hurtful unto her Majesty. His obedience and loyalty is and hath been such, and so for ever shall continue to her Majesty.

"To the first he saith he never before or sithence the statute did relieve nor board any knowing them to be priests or traitorous practisers of their company.

[1] *Condition of Catholics*, p. ccxiv., ccxviii.
[2] *Harleian MSS.* 6998, fol. 23.

"2. Both he and his wife received and harboured Doctor Bristow that writ the "Motives," a most traitorous book and slanderous against the Queen's Majesty, and kept him there being brought thither sick, and he and his wife called Bristow the Priest there Cousin Spring to keep him unknown, and he died in their house, and [they] caused him to be buried in Harrow Church by another Seminary priest called Hall *alias* Birkett who continued there.

"2. He denieth that ever he received Doctor Bristow, but one Springe which was a kinsman unto his wife, who being sick at London came down for the help of his health and died within 12 hours or thereabouts immediately after his coming, and was buried by the Curate at Harrow and not by any Seminary priest, whatsoever Mr. Topcliffe reporteth.

"3. This Hall *alias* Birkett did continue much with Richard Bellamy and his wife in their house, and that priest did travel over sea from thence in company with Robert Barnes, another traitorous dissuaded guest of theirs, to Doctor Allen. They departed one St. Gregory's day and returned upon St. George's day, both lousy with lying on shipboard, with a pair of black stony beads from Dr. Allen the arch-traitor, and this Hall *alias* Birkett was boarded in Bellamy's house and Barnes paid for his board.

"3. To the third he saith that it is not true that the said Hall *alias* Birkett did continue much in the house of the said Richard Bellamy, neither was he ever boarded there.

"4. Wingfilde *alias* Davies *alias* Cooke a Seminary priest boarded and was harboured in their house a long time when Hall used thither.

"4. One Wingfilde a schoolmaster did sometimes come to his house, but he knew him not to be a priest.

"5. Howlforde *alias* Acton another Seminary priest was harboured there when he fled from the Sheriff's men of Cheshire out of the Strand, by the same token that the maiden in Bellamy's house did pick thorns out of his legs gotten with running thither through hedges in the night, and this Howlforde *alias* Acton used to play at Tables with Richard Bellamy aforesaid.

"5. He knoweth not Howlforde *alias* Acton nor of any such, nor never heard of any such man.

"6. And Howlforde and Wingfilde were sent to Babington and Barnewell the traitors into the wood from Bellamy's house when Babington's treason was in hand.

"6. The said Bellamy at the apprehension of Babington and Barnewell was called before Sir Edward Harbert knight, Mr. Barnes and Mr. Paine, and found clear concerning this Article.

"7. Barrowes *alias* Walgrave a Seminary priest was received and harboured there, and treated of marriage for one of his brothers.

"7. There never came to his house any called Barrowes or Walgrave being a priest to his knowledge.

"8. Southwell *alias* Cotton did use thither divers times before that time he was taken, and preached there

"8. Sowthewell did never before his apprehension come to his house, and that day he was from home and

that a Papist might lawfully forswear himself before an heretical ruler, Queen or Magistrate. And so do both Bellamy and his wife, being asked the truth of these priests &c. as that Davies [*alias*] Wingfield was not there at Bellamy's house at that time [when] South-[well was] there, whereby Wingfilde escaped from being taken.

"9. Horrible and most traitorous books both printed and written were found by me in that house by multitudes, besides many dispersed; so as their houses were like stationers' shops.

"10. And they have concealed Francis Southewell's two fairest horses to the great hinderment of the three days before. And the said Sowthewell was taken within 12 hours after his coming (as he hath heard say), and thus Winckefilde the schoolmaster was there that day but stayed not one hour, and further saith that his daughters told him that Mr. Topliffe said unto them that the same Wincke[filde] did betray Sowthewell.

"9. The books which he fo[und] in [the house] were there left by his mother unknown to him. Other books he found in further saith if any of them had been trai[to]rous books, it had been fit for [Mr. To]pliffe to have received them before some other justice by some special note under [both] their hands the better to charge his house withal, for otherwise he may say what books soever he found in any other place he found them there, and especially now being almost three years since.

"10. He never concealed any of Sowthewell's horses, but if Sowthewell had had any horse there, his house

service of the Queen's Majesty and of the State.

"11. Besides they have married their daughter Audrye at one of their three houses by a Seminary priest to a Papist of late to show their obedience.

is a manor, and might well have seized them.

"11. His daughter Audrye was not married by his consent, neither knew he thereof in half a year after, which was to him a great grief, for that she might at that time if she had been ruled by him have had a husband which was heir to a thousand marks by the year.

"And further for proof of the truth of these answers the petitioner humbly craveth the examinations of himself taken before the late Bishop of London, Mr. Wrothe, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Hawlie, Mr. Young and others, as also the examinations of his wife, his two daughters, and his uncle Page, now close prisoners by Mr. Topliffe's commandment, with the examination of one John Shepherde and one Humfrey Heigood, who were examined by Mr. Topcliffe and others and threatened, imprisoned, and fair promised to confess against his said wife and himself what they would, to be brought forth, that thereby your Honours in charity and in your grave considerations may the freelier deliver her, her two daughters and his uncle Page, out of this miserable estate of imprisonment, either upon bond or otherwise, to be forthcoming at all times to make their purgation, if your Honours so please, by very pregnant circumstances, that Mr. Topcliffe's drift in these accusations is rather to benefit one Jones, some time his servant and after servant unto the keeper of the Gatehouse, who got with child while she was a prisoner a daughter of this petitioner committed thither about three years since and more, and after married her, for whom he now seeketh a far greater portion than either this petitioner's ability may

well afford or his daughter's duty towards him deserveth or her advancement requireth, which he thinketh were rather fit to be punished than in any sort favoured."

The accusations brought by Topcliffe against Richard Bellamy are exceedingly interesting and accurate. No wonder, when the child turned Queen's evidence against her father.

It is true that Dr. Richard Bristow, one of the first founders of Douay College, died in his house. He was the author of the *Motives* (Antwerp, 1574) and many other works. Dodd says, that "according to the character given of him in the College records, he might rival Allen in prudence, Stapleton in acuteness, Campion in eloquence, Wright in theology, and Martin in languages." He came over to England in a consumption brought on by his labours, setting out from Rheims for Spa on the 13th of May; but receiving no benefit, he returned to the College on the 26th of July. He is affectionately mentioned in the College diary as *venerabilis vir et magister noster*. He left for England on the 23rd of September, and died at Uxendon on the 14th[1] of October, 1581.

George Birket, the priest next mentioned in Topcliffe's accusations, was a man of considerable eminence, as may be gathered from the fact that in 1608 he was chosen archpriest, and continued in that office till his death in 1614. Bartoli gives[2] a beautiful letter written by him just before Father Weston's coming over, addressed to Father Agazzari, August 13, 1584, imploring the General "in the name of all the priests and of all the Catholics of our nation" to send some members of the Society to take the place and carry on the work of Campion and Persons.

The "Robert Barnes, another traitor," that Topcliffe

[1] Dodd (vol. ii. p. 60) erroneously says the 18th.

[2] *Inghilterra*, lib. iv. cap. viii. p. 278; Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 74.

unites with Birket, was the brave layman, who was sentenced with Mrs. Jane Wiseman to the *peine forte et dure* in July, 1598, for refusing to plead when arraigned with Father Jones, *alias* Buckley, the Franciscan martyr. Barnes was an excellent Catholic, whose name often appears in the records of the persecution.

Next to him Topcliffe mentions Davies and Holford, two priests and the latter a martyr, and Topcliffe tells of Mr. Holford the same story which Bishop Challoner gives on the authority of this very Mr. Davies. As the passage in question relates to Mr. Bellamy's house, which Mr. Davies does not name, but which Topcliffe enables us to identify, it may be well to insert it here for comparison.

Mr. Davies had been the means of Mr. Holford's conversion. "Meeting with him again some four years after," Mr. Holford having meanwhile been ordained priest at Rheims, "I acquainted him where I lay myself," says Mr. Davies, meaning Mr. Bellamy's, we may be sure; "where, to his welcome at his first coming, the house was searched upon All Souls' day, when Mr. Bavin [Bavant] was making a sermon. The pursuivants were Newall and Worsley; but we all three escaped." As Thomas Holford was ordained April 7, 1583, his conversion will have been 1579, and this adventure in 1584, about the time of Father Weston's arrival.

"After that," continues Mr. Davies, "he fell into a second danger, in the time of the search for Babington and his company [July, 1586], of which tragedy Sir Francis Walsingham was the chief actor and contriver, as I gathered by Mr. Babington himself, who was with me the night before he was apprehended: for after he, Mr. Holford, had escaped two or three watches, he came to me [at Uxendon]; and the next day the house where I remained was searched, but we both escaped by a secret place which was made at the foot of the stairs, where we lay, going into a hay-barn.

"Which troubles being passed, Mr. Holford the next year after went into his own country, which was Cheshire, hoping to gain some of his friends there into the Catholic Church: but there he was apprehended, and imprisoned in the Castle of West Chester [*i.e.* Chester], and from thence was sent with two pursuivants (as I take it) to London: who lodging in Holborn, at the sign of the Bell or the Exchequer (I do not well remember whether), the good man rising about five in the morning, pulled on his yellow stocking upon one of his legs, and had his white boot hose on the other, and walked up and down the chamber. One of his keepers looked up (for they had drank hard the night before, and watched late), and seeing him there, fell to sleep again; which he perceiving went down into the hall. The tapster met him and asked him, 'What lack you, gentleman?' But the tapster being gone, Mr. Holford went out, and so down Holborn to the Conduit, where a Catholic gentleman meeting him (but not knowing him) thought he was a madman. Then he turned into the little lane into Gray's Inn Field. What ways he went afterwards I know not; but betwixt ten and eleven of the clock at night, he came to me where I lay [at Mr. Bellamy's] about eight miles from London. He had eaten nothing of all that day; his feet were galled with gravel stones, and his legs all scratched with briars and thorns (for he dared not to keep the highway), so that the blood flowed in some places. The gentleman and mistress of the house caused a bath with sweet herbs to be made, and their two daughters washed and bathed his legs and feet; after which he went to bed." This will have been in 1587. If Audrey Bellamy was married then, Anne will have been one of these two daughters, and this accounts for the accuracy of Topcliffe's knowledge. She has, however, attributed her charity to "the maiden."

"After this escape," adds Mr. Davies, and a few words

more suffice to tell all that we know of Thomas Holford's martyrdom, "he avoided London for a time, but the next year, 1588, he came to London to buy him a suit of apparel. At which time, going to Mr. Swithin Wells' house, near St. Andrew's Church, in Holborn, to serve God [to say Mass] Hodgkins, the pursuivant, espying him as he came forth, dogged him into his tailor's house, and there apprehended him. He was executed on the 28th of August, at Clerkenwell."

As for Mr. Davies himself, he was taken but not known to be a priest, and was released on bail, to the great chagrin, as we shall see, of the pursuivants who took him. Berden, a spy, reported[1] to Sir Francis Walsingham, "Davies, *alias* Winckfield, late prisoner in the Counter in Wood Street. This companion was shifted out for a layman by the name of Davies. He was the principal person that received Campion, Parsons, and Edmonds, and conducted them through England, and the corrupter of William Fytton and his mother-in-law and all their family, with divers others."

There is one more who is mentioned by Topcliffe in the paper on which we are commenting, and that is the venerated name of Robert Southwell. The indictment of the poet and martyr says, that "not having the fear of God before his eyes and slighting the laws and statutes of this realm of England, without any regard to the penalty therein contained, on the 20th day of June, the thirty-fourth year of our Lady the Queen, at Uxendon, in the county of Middlesex, traitorously and as a false traitor to our said Lady the Queen, was and remained, contrary to the form of the statute in such case set forth and provided, and contrary to the peace of our said Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity." This gives us the exact date[2] of Father Southwell's apprehension, Tuesday, June 20, 1592.

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv. n. 72.

[2] Oliver erroneously says Sunday, the 5th of July.

Topcliffe, by a lie common in those times, told the Bellamys that Father Southwell was betrayed by Mr. Davies the priest: in his letter, however, to Queen Elizabeth the day after his arrest, he said that Nicholas, the underkeeper of the Gatehouse, was the man that caused him to take him. This Nicholas Jones was the husband of Anne Bellamy.

This is the letter[1] that Topcliffe wrote to Elizabeth. "I have him here within my strong chamber in Westminster churchyard. I have made him assured for starting or hurting of himself by putting upon his arms a pair of [irons]; and so to keep him either from view or conference with any but Nicholas, the underkeeper of the Gatehouse, and my boy; Nicholas being the man that caused me to take him. I send an examination of him faithfully taken, and of him foully and suspiciously answered, and for what? Knowing the nature and doings of the man may it please your Majesty to see my simple opinion, constrained in duty to utter it. Upon this present taking of him, it is good forthwith to enforce him to answer truly and directly, and so to prove his answers true in haste, to the end that such as be deeply concerned in his treachery may not have time to start, or make shift to use any means in common prisons; either to stand upon or against the wall (which above all things exceedeth, and hurteth not) will give warning. But if your Highness' pleasure be to know anything in his heart, to stand against the wall, his feet standing upon the ground, and his hands but as high as he can reach against the wall (like a trick at Trenshemarm) will enforce him to tell all; and the truth proved by the sequel. (1) The answer of him to the question of the Countess of Arundel. And (2) that of Father Persons, deciphereth him. It may please your Majesty to consider I never did take so weighty a man, if he be rightly considered. . . . And so humbly submitting myself to your

[1] Strype's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 185.

Majesty's direction in this or in any service with any hazard, I cease until I have your pleasure. Here at Westminster with my charge and ghostly father, this Monday the 22nd [21st] of June, 1592. Your Majesty's faithful servant,—RYC. TOPCLYFF." And her Majesty's pleasure was that Richard Topcliffe should work his wicked will on Robert Southwell. Ten times was he tortured by being hanged by the hands against the wall; a torture so severe that Father Southwell said he would sooner have died ten times. And then after this he endured two months' imprisonment in the Gatehouse, before he was committed to the Tower, under the custody of Nicholas Jones and his wife, Anne Bellamy.

By betraying the hiding-places at Uxendon, Anne knew that she was bringing her father and mother under the capital law for felony. She was probably assured that their lives would be spared, and that every effort would be made to bring them into conformity. The sort of influence that was brought to bear upon them the following letters instructively show.

They were arrested in virtue of an order, which we take from the Introduction to the Reverend Alexander Grosart's noble edition of Southwell's Poems.[1] "That Mr. Justice Young, or some other like commissioner, do apprehend Richard Bellamy of Oxendon, in the parish of Harrow-on-the-Hill, and his wife, and the two sons and their two daughters, in whose house Father Southwell, *alias* Mr. Cotton, was taken by Mr. Toplay [Topcliffe] a commissioner, and where a number of other priests have been received and harboured, as well when Southwell hath been there, as when Mr. Barnes *alias* Stranudge *alias* Hynd *alias* Wingfield, hath been a sojourner in Bellamy's house. And they to be committed to several prisons: Bellamy and his wife to the Gatehouse, and their two daughters to the Clink, and their two sons to St. Catharine's, and

[1] P. lxv.

to be examined straitly for the weighty service of the Queen's Majesty."

That that order was written by Topcliffe himself is plain enough. The Bellamys were arrested while he was out of town, and not disposed of as he had arranged, so he wrote thus,[2] ungrammatically as usual, to Lord Keeper Puckering:

"It may please your lordship, at my return out of the country this night, I did hear of Mrs. Bellamy's two daughters committed to the Gatehouse, but the old hen that hatched those chickens (the worst that ever was) is as yet at a lodging. Let her be sent to the prison there at the Gatehouse, and severed from her daughters, and her son Thomas Bellamy committed to St. Catharine's, and you shall hear proof cause enough, and see it work a strange example thereabouts. But Mr. Young nor any other commissioner must know that I do know thereof, or am a doer in this device: Nor by will other than his lordship that was with you when you did conclude what should be done at Greenwich last. Let them feel a day or so imprisonment, and then your lordship shall see me play the part of a true man with charity, in the end to the honour of the State. And so in haste at midnight this Friday. Your lordship's at commandment,—RYC. TOPCLYFFE. To the right honourable my sin[gular good] lord, Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England."

Whether "this Friday" was the 23rd or the 30th, of that June is not certain; probably the latter, and in that case on that day, Mrs. Bellamy got the following letter[1] from her "true man with charity." In it he hypocritically takes some expressions of obedience to the Queen as intended for faithfulness to her religion.

"Mrs. Bellamy, it may be that I did leave you in fear

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxliii. n. 26.
[2] *Harleian MSS.* 6998, fol. 21.

the other night for the cause that fell out in your house, better known to yourself than to any of us that were there. But because I, myself found you carried a duty and reverence to the name of my Sovereign Queen and yours, and showed the fruit of obedience you know wherein, I presumed to adventure to show you more favour than like offenders unto you have had showed in like cause. And your sons and your household for your sake, for I know her Majesty's pleasure is, and so hath always been my disposition, to make a difference of offenders and offences, and between those that owe duty and perform duty to her Majesty and such as show malice unto her in word and deed. This day I have made her privy of your faithful doings, which traitorous Papists will say is faithless. You seeming to bear by this your doing a good heart smitted with a little scrupulousness her Majesty is disposed to take better than you have deserved and I trust will be your gracious lady at my humble suit which you shall not want without bribe and with a good conscience of my part. And therefore take no care for yourself, and for your husband so as he come to me to say somewhat to him for his good, your children are like to receive more favour so as from henceforth they continue dutiful in heart and show. And although your daughter Anne have again fallen in some folly there is no time past but she win favour. And knowing so much of her Majesty's mercy towards you as I would wish you to deserve more and more and no way to give cause to her Majesty to cool her mercy. And so I end at my lodging in Westminster churchyard the 30th day of June, 1592." The signature is cut off. The letter would hardly be in its present place among Sir John Puckering's papers, if Mrs. Bellamy had not sent it to the Lord Keeper by way of complaint against Topcliffe.

Two years elapse before we hear of the Bellamys again. Richard, who had been what our fathers called "a schismatic," that is one who knew the Catholic religion

to be true and who went to the Protestant church, though he knew it to be a sin, in order thus to obtain some cessation of the persecution, had gone into Belgium. There Father Henry More says he saw him in exile and poverty, *ampla dejectum fortuna, extorrem, et reliquam exiguo quod superesse potuit trahentem vitam.*[1] Catharine his wife, and his two sons at length "conformed," but the two daughters Audrey Wilford, now a widow, and Mary, held out bravely to the last. Here are their examinations,[2] taken in 1594, and it makes one's heart ache to read them.

"The examination of Katherine Bellamy, wife of Richard Bellamy of Harrow Hill, taken before me Richard Young the 18th day of July, 1594.

"The said examinate saith that she doth go to church, and doth hear divine service and sermons, but she saith that she hath not received the Communion.

"*Item*, she saith that she hath two sons, one Frith and the other Thomas, and they do go to church every Sunday.

"*Item*, she saith that she hath two daughters, one called Awdrey, the other Mary, and they be in house with her, but they do not go to church.

"*Item*, she saith that Mr. William Page her uncle doth lodge at her house and doth not go to church.

"Thomas Bellamy, of the age of twenty-two or twenty-three years, examined saith that he goeth to church and heareth divine service and sermons also. And although he did not receive the Communion the last Easter, yet now he is willing. He saith also that Mr. William Page lieth at his father's, but goeth not to church.

"Awdry Wilford, widow, examined saith that she remaineth with her mother Mrs. Bellamy, and being asked

[1] *Hist. Prov.* lib. v. n. 25, p. 192.
[2] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxlix. n. 31.

whether she goeth to church, answereth No, and saith that her conscience will not give her to go to church, and (so far as she can remember) she was never at church in all her life-time, and refuseth also now to go, or to have conference.

"Mary Bellamy, of the age of twenty-seven years. examined saith that she hath dwelt always with her mother and hath not been at church these fourteen years. And being asked why, saith that her conscience will not suffer her, neither will she now go to church, or yet admit any conference."

CHAPTER V.

THE EXILES OF 1585.

"WE meanwhile returned to London," Father Weston, that is, and his companion Henry Hubert, "there to devise new plans for our future proceedings. Mr. Henry had received news while still in France, that his wife whom he had left with child had retired from her own home, and was living secretly in the house of a Catholic until the birth of her child, in order to avoid the danger of its falling into the hands of heretics and receiving baptism according to their rite.[1] We thought it good to make an attempt, for we were not certain of her being concealed there, so I went to the house, for Mr. Henry did not dare to be seen in public, as every place and house seemed dangerous to

[1] When the persecution was more systematically directed in King James' time to the robbery of Catholics, the penalty incurred by every Popish recusant who did not cause his child to be baptized by a lawful minister of the Church of England, in open church, within one month after it was born, was the forfeiture of 100*l.*, of which one third was to go to the King, one third to the prosecutor, and the remainder to the poor of the parish. 3 Jac. I. cap. 5.

him. I made inquiries whether his wife were dwelling there. The people of the house denied to me that she either was there or ever had been, for they feared that I might be an enemy or a spy. When I had been often repulsed, and had nevertheless from certain indications become pretty sure that this was her retreat, I assumed a bolder air and said that it was impossible that she was not within, adding words which implied how sorely I was annoyed at the fact of being repelled so many times. Nevertheless, they sent me away. As I was withdrawing, however, a girl followed me and inquired whether I had ever seen or known the woman for whom I was inquiring. I said that I had not, but that I had certain tokens from her husband which she would not be sorry to see and recognize. She asked me therefore to return, and leading me in, she pointed the woman out to me. I immediately showed her a jewelled ornament of her husband's, a most certain token, the recognition of which brought me into the greatest favour, both with herself and the whole family. Every mark and office of charity was joyfully lavished upon me. In reply to their many inquiries, I told them all I knew concerning Mr. Henry and where he was staying. I then went out and brought him back with me, and we passed that day in happiness.

"On the morrow there arrived a priest, with whom I talked for awhile about matters of business and the state of affairs. Then, having said Mass, we took our leave, Mr. Henry remaining behind there in company with his wife. The priest conducted me to the same lady who at first had denied that she knew Father Persons. She received me most kindly and explained the reason of her mistrust; in fact, she had imagined that we belonged to that race of men whom they call pursuivants. I sojourned there for a few days, during which we had frequent visits from Catholic priests. From this house I made a beginning of those matters which belong to

our duty and our office, and I became presently known to many persons.

"Father Haywood during those days lay detained in captivity within the Tower of London, and besides the other inconveniences of his prison he was afflicted with divers infirmities. On account of his age and ill health he was permitted to receive visits from his sister, who was able to bestow upon him some care and nursing. Through her help, therefore, as she was a Catholic, I transacted some business with him by means of letters, and received letters from him in return. The opening of Parliament was now at hand, that very Parliament in which were decreed those dreadful and ruthless laws against Catholics in general, and against their clergy in particular; at which time such priests as were still detained in prison were driven into exile. One of these was Father Haywood, whom I was most intensely anxious to see and converse with before his departure. The matter being in consequence discussed with his sister, and understanding from her that it was possible to bring it to pass without extreme danger, as freer leave of having intercourse with his friends would be granted to him in consideration of his removal, I entered with her into the Tower, not without great terror, as I perceived the dreary spaces, the gates and iron bolts past which I was led by my guide, and which inclosed me round. When I came to where the Father was confined, we saluted each other and then discoursed, as was natural, concerning what we each knew respecting affairs.

"Amongst other things he told me that in spite of all my endeavours to keep my arrival in England a secret, it had yet been previously known to himself; he had heard it from the Earl of Northumberland, as also about Ralph, my companion; and it was impossible that information should not have reached the ears of the Queen's Council. This Earl was at that time held fast in the

Tower, and shortly afterwards [July, 1585] he was atrociously murdered in his chamber in the dead of the night by some villains who discharged into his breast the contents of a musket, charged with two bullets; at least so public report expressed it.

"At length, when my conference with Father Haywood was finished, and we had spent almost the whole day together, having embraced him and said a last farewell, I returned by the same labyrinth by which I had entered, and as soon as I found myself outside safe and sound, it seemed as though I was restored to the light of day. After some weeks he was placed in the same vessel with many other priests, and thrust away into exile, leaving us, his country, his parents and friends behind him. Then I found myself alone in England, deprived both of my father and of Ralph, my brother."

Among these exiles was Edward Rishton, a priest who had been condemned with Campion, and who was one of Father Haywood's fellow-prisoners in the Tower. To him we are indebted, not only for his very valuable diary of events during his imprisonment there, but also for the supplement, or third book, that he added to Sanders' *History of the English Schism.*

The diary in the Tower ends with this record, under date of January 21, 158⅘: "Jaspar Haywood, James Bosgrave, and John Hart, priests of the Society of Jesus; Christopher Thompson, Arthur Pitts, Robert Nutter, Thomas Stevenson, Richard Slack, Thomas Barnes, Thomas Worthington, and ten other priests, with one layman (in all we were one-and-twenty), when expecting nothing of the sort, were by the Queen's command put on board a ship, and against our will put ashore on the coast of Normandy, and not long afterwards fifty [one] others followed us into exile, and we were all expressly threatened with pain of death if we ever returned to our country."

Rishton's account of this deportation, given in his edition of Sanders, is much more full, and in it Father Jaspar Haywood plays the most prominent part. He had been, when a boy, in Elizabeth's service, and it was thought that he might be withdrawn from his fellow-prisoners at the time of their trial, in such a manner as to leave the impression on the minds of Catholics that he had yielded. Accordingly, when they were on their trial at Westminster, he was taken away so that they should not know what had become of him. Imprisoned first in the Clink on the 9th of December, 1583, he was taken from the Queen's Bench at Westminster to the Tower on the 6th of February, 1584; while his companions, George Haydock, John Munden, John Nutter, James Fenn, and Thomas Hemerford, all priests, were condemned and martyred.

While in the Tower Elizabeth's Ministers did their best, by promises, to induce him to desert his religion, even going so far, as he told Rishton, as to offer him a bishopric. He had not been a full year in the Tower of London when he was shipped off to France. A few only of the multitudes of Catholic prisoners were selected for this exceptional punishment, as they regarded it. The prisons were full. In the Marshalsea alone there were thirty priests; and in the course of the year no less than seventy-two were sent into exile, of whom many were aged priests from the gaols of York and Hull. The gaolers of the London prisons were furnished with lists of the names of those who were chosen for banishment, in order that the prisoners might provide themselves with requisites for their journey. This, however, was not an easy thing for close prisoners to do.

When the day came at last, after various delays, the twenty priests, who, with Henry Orton, constituted the first ship-load, met from their various prisons on the Tower wharf. Instead of regarding their liberation from prison

as a favour, Father Jaspar Haywood made a protest in the name of all, that they were innocent men who were being punished with exile, and that, so far from consenting to leave the Catholics, whom they were bound to serve, they would gladly give their lives for them. They valued their country, he said, and their countrymen's souls above their lives. Their protest was not listened to, nor their demand to see the Queen's warrant for their expulsion; and the ship left amid the salutations of many friends who had been allowed to see them start.

They were bound for Boulogne, and when they had been two days at sea, they made a fresh request to be allowed to see the warrant for their transportation. The indignation of the priests was great when they found that it recited that by their own and others' confessions they had been found guilty of seditions and conspiracies against the Queen and the State, and that the sentence of death was commuted, by her Majesty's clemency, to exile. So far from this being true, many of them had not been put upon their trial, and one of them, John Collington, had even been acquitted when tried with Father Campion. Haywood was spokesman again, but of course the officers answered that they had nothing to do but to obey orders. These protests were necessary, lest it should be thought that they were of their own accord withdrawing from the field of duty and of danger, which would have been accounted disgraceful by themselves and by the Catholics on both sides of the Channel. On the 3rd of March fourteen of this first ship-load reached the College at Rheims, and they were joined by ten other exiled priests in the course of the year. By degrees they found their way back again into England; for in what respect were they, with their special threat of death, in a worse position than all priests whose priesthood was treason? That they sincerely meant what they said, when they promised soon to return to England, to reassure the Catholics who feared

that they had purchased exile by concessions, is shown by the fact that, among the twenty-four to whom the College at Rheims gave shelter, there were William Hartley, William Dean, Robert Nutter, Stephen Rowsham, John Adams, Thomas Pilchard, Nicholas Garlick, Edmund Sykes, and John Hewet, who were all subsequently martyred.

Jaspar Haywood, who had been seventeen years Professor of Theology at Dillingen, and was famous for his knowledge of Hebrew, was so highly esteemed there that to obtain him for the English mission it was necessary for Pope Gregory XIII. to address a Brief[1] to the Duke of Bavaria, requesting that he might be spared for the important work for which he was wanted. Bartoli says that in spite of his previous reputation, and of his acknowledged piety and his sufferings for religion, a character for an obstinate adherence to his own opinion rendered it impossible for him to be employed in any capacity but that of a simple *operarius*. This judgment seems unduly severe, for we have nothing to support it but his indiscretion in the question of the English fasting days; and there is nothing that requires explanation in the fact that a professor should not have been again employed in teaching, when his studies had been for some time interrupted by the very different duties of missionary life. He went first to Dôle in France, then, after four years, to Rome, and lastly to Naples, where he died a most pious death on the 9th of January, 1598, sixty-three years of age.

James Bosgrave, his companion in imprisonment and exile, was received into the Society at Rome in 1564, and ordained priest at Olmutz in 1572. He spent twelve years, before and after his ordination, teaching Rhetoric, Philosophy, Mathematics, Greek, and Hebrew, and in 1580 he

[1] It is given by Father More (*Hist. Prov.* lib. iv. n. 11. p. 132), and is dated May 26, 1581.

returned to England, where he was taken prisoner as soon as he landed, and was sent first to the Marshalsea and then to the Tower.[1] He was tried with Father Campion, and sentence of death was pronounced against him. There is a curious paper in the Public Record Office,[2] dated July, 1580, giving the points on which it was considered he might be arraigned.

"James Bosgrave chargeable: being at Rome and going in the company of Dr. Harding thither.

"Saying that her Majesty is Queen of England and head of this Church, because she is the beginner of the religion which we now hold.

"Saying that our bishops be not lawful bishops because they are not consecrated by the Pope, neither they allowable ministers that are made by our bishops.

"Saying there be in London twelve Catholics well known to the Catholics beyond the sea, who have sent for four doctors to come over to them from Rome, which arrived in London in August last past.

"Saying that his own coming is looked for of many in London; that he can bring one to service in London where there shall be four hundred Catholics.

"Saying that her Majesty would not live [for] ever, and that there is hope all things will here be brought into an unity when the crown of England shall be subject to Scotland.

"Saying the Catholics in England are able to cast out all the Protestants in this realm, but that they lack only a head.

"With having a letter sent unto him from Owen at Rome, telling him it was not yet time for him to go into England, [it] being impossible to do good there till God send better days.

"Having a testimonial from one Peres, master of a

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxlix. n. 83; vol. clix. n. 36.
[2] *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxl. n. 43.

College of Jesuits, signifying that he is a Jesuit, and without impediment to say Mass everywhere."

Father Persons gives an account of the error committed by Father Bosgrave, and of the humility with which he corrected it, in the notes that he wrote in 1594 for the Life of Father Campion.[1] "A few days after this [Father Cottam's apprehension in June, 1580], there was taken also one Mr. James Bosgrave, a priest of the Society of Jesus, of a very worshipful house and parentage in England, who, having departed out of England when he was but very young, and afterwards, making him a religious man, had lived many years in Germany and Poland, though he were very well learned for his years, yet knew he not the perfect state of matter in England especially touching religion; and therefore returning into England on the sudden for recovery of his health, and being taken at his first landing before he could have conference with any Catholics, was brought before the Bishop of London, and being asked whence he came, he said, 'From Germany and Poland,' which liked them not evil; and being asked what he had done there, he said he had travelled countries, which also they took well, as being a thing much used by English gentlemen at this day. But after this they came to matter of religion, wherein he professed himself a Catholic; whereto they replied that so were they too, but the question was whether he would go to church or no. Whereunto he said that he knew no cause to the contrary, whereat they were wonderfully glad, for that they saw he was learned, and hoped by this means to have him to oppose himself against the rest of his religion in this point, which imported them as they thought very much, and therefore they praised him highly for his discretion and conformity, and made extreme much of him, giving him liberty to go where he would, and presently published about London that one of the learnedest men of all the

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 133.

Jesuits had yielded unto them in this point of going to the church, and that all the rest of them that held the contrary were nothing to him for wit or learning.

"When this rumour came abroad, it grieved the Catholics exceedingly, and so much the more, for that when it came to be known to them, Father Campion and Father Persons were both departed from London, so as none of his Order being there to deal with the said Bosgrave and to instruct him of the state of England and [of the] error [he had] committed, they doubted it might proceed further, and come to great scandal in the end, and so much the more, for that the heretics gave out, according to their fashion, that he would wholly be theirs in all points of doctrine very shortly; for which cause also the Catholics durst not greatly trust him at the beginning, but when he offered himself to their companies or came to their houses, they shunned him; which when he perceived and yet knew not the cause, he was wonderfully afflicted and knew not what to do nor whither to go, for he had been so long out of England as he had no acquaintance left whose house he knew in London.

"But at length God's providence was that he met with a certain near kinsman of his own, who being a Catholic told him of the opinion men had of him, and of the offence taken at his speech and proceeding with the Bishop of London, whereat the good [Father] was much amazed, and said that he meant no further in saying that he would go to their churches, than if in Rome or Germany he should offer to go to the Jews' synagogue, or in Constantinople to see the Turks' mosques, to hear their folly and refute the same; and that in Germany and Poland, where he had spent the most part of his time, he never heard such scruple made thereof, but that any learned men might go to a church or meeting of Calvinists, Lutherans, Trinitarians, Anabaptists (for of all these four sects there are churches there), and hear their folly and blasphemy, the rather and

better to detest and refute it. And the like he meant when he promised the Bishop of London to go to his church.

"To this his Catholic kinsman replied that the state of things was different in England from Germany concerning this point, for that in England the question was not whether one or two learned men or more, for such a cause of curiosity or to know more of their doings and sayings to refute them, may repair for once or twice or the like to an heretical church; but whether a learned man may bind himself to go thither ordinarily, thereby to acknowledge that religion to be good, and to give example to other simpler men and women to go also, which have not learning nor intention to refute that which they shall hear, but perhaps believe it. Besides that, in England this act is commanded and enacted by public authority of the magistrates as an act of religion, which is far different from a private act of any particular man in a corner; and if the like act were required in Germany at Catholics' hands by a public heretical magistrate, commanding them to repair to their churches, no doubt but if they do obey, it is a great sin to them as well as in England.

"And finally he said that this particular point of sincere confessing the Catholic faith by utter refusing to come to heretical churches was now in trial in England, and many numbers of Catholics did suffer imprisonment and persecution for the same, and all the priests generally, and also the other fathers of his Order; and all learned zealous Catholics were of one opinion in this behalf, and therefore for him that was also a religious man, and so learned, to swerve from the rest must need be a very great scandal. And besides he told him also how offensively the heretics, upon this little yielding of his, had sown suspicions abroad that he would be of their religion in all points: wherewith he was exceedingly moved, and grieved at their malice, and said that by God's grace he would

soon take away their imaginations in that behalf, as also give the Catholics satisfaction of his true meaning in that cause, for which he was as ready to die as any other; and thereupon resolved presently to write one letter to the said Catholics, excusing and giving reasons of that which he had done,[1] and another to the Bishop of London and other Protestants, to call back again whatever he had promised about going to their churches, and to offer himself to prison or whatsoever punishment besides, for defence of the contrary doctrine of the Catholics. And so he did, and was sent prisoner to the Marshalsea, among other priests before named, and some months after to the Tower; and thence brought forth, indicted of treason and condemned to death without any other new crime whatsoever but that which you have heard. He was not executed, but reprieved, and sent afterward into banishment among many other, and so he returned to his religion again in Polonia." Father More says that he was professed of the three vows at Caliss in 1604, and died there in 1623, over seventy years of age.

There was an interference in Father Bosgrave's behalf that must have surprised and angered Elizabeth. It was a letter from the King of Poland, Stephen Battori, addressed to Elizabeth. As Father Bosgrave was not exiled for two years after the date of the letter, it can hardly be said to have produced any effect in his favour. Translated from the Latin given by More,[2] it runs thus, and it is a curiosity in its way.

"Stephen by the Grace of God King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, to the most Serene Princess the Lady Elizabeth, by the same Grace of God Queen of England.

[1] This letter, entitled "The Satisfaction of Mr. James Bosgrave, the godly confessor of Christ, concerning his going to the church of the Protestants at his first coming into England," according to Dr. Oliver, occupies five pages of a small 8vo volume, published at Rheims in 1583.

[2] *Hist. Prov.* lib. iv. n. 12, p. 136.

"There has been for some time detained in prison in your Majesty's kingdom a man whose piety and learning is in many men's mouths, James Bosgrave, Theologian of the Society of Jesus and Professor in our University of Vilna, and that as we hear for no cause but the strenuous profession of the Catholic. Roman religion, which he imbibed with his mother's milk. We do not doubt that your Highness will perceive that it is important that a man remarkable for his piety and learning should not be so long absent from his University. The injury that his absence has caused to literature we plainly see, and this is our motive for earnestly asking your Majesty as a favour to ourselves to set free and send back to us this theologian, in order that, restored to his former position, he may continue to teach piety and letters, to the great future benefit and adornment of Church and State. We do not doubt that your Highness for your goodwill to us will give this man up to us, and will not allow that while your subjects are free to profess any religion whatever in our kingdom, our religion should be a capital offence in yours; and we hope that in a short time the royal clemency and goodness of your Majesty will set all the Catholics free, and do at once a most humane act and one that will be most gratifying to us. And so we bid you a happy farewell. Given at Niepolomice this 29th of January, 1583, the seventh year of our reign."

When Fathers Haywood, Bosgrave, and Hart had been sent away, there yet remained a Jesuit in the Tower, Father William Crichton, who had been taken at sea on his way to Scotland, and was committed to prison on the 16th of September, 1584, according to Rishton's Diary. A ridiculous story was put in circulation, that a letter torn up by him and thrown away, had been blown on board ship again, pieced, and read. When the Privy Council decided on transporting the others, a note[1] was made,

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxxviii. n. 74.

May 27, 1585, respecting Father Crichton and the Scotch priest who was imprisoned with him. "William Crichton to be continued for a season in the Tower. . . . Patrick Adye, taken in Crichton's company, a Scot and a priest, and chaplain to the Bishop of Ross; fit to be banished."

One of Walsingham's "Secret Advertisements,"[1] dated April 6, 1585, tells this singular story. "Sithence my last certificate I had some conference with one Gervase Pierrepont, late prisoner in the Tower, concerning Crichton, the Scottish Jesuit there, viz., whether he had any means to confer with his friends or to convey any letters unto them sithence his committing to the Tower. He answered me that when Crichton was first committed, he was lodged in Martin Tower, right over the lodging of Nicholas Roscarrock, which said Nicholas did oftentimes by some device open two doors which were between their lodgings, and so they conferred at pleasure, and also the said Pierrepont said unto me that such letters as Crichton did write, were by the said Nicholas conveyed out of his chamber window, which was near the ground, to a little maiden which was sent often to him from Orton which was late banished, and so by him farther conveyed out of the Tower, but to whom or what place he seemed ignorant; only some of them were conveyed to the Lord Gray that not long sithence was Ambassador from Scotland during his abode here in England. But I cannot learn that Crichton hath had any means to confer or to convey sithence Orton his banishment, and I understand that he is removed from his old lodging, and from his keeper also. Yet nevertheless I will do my best endeavour to learn farther of the matter. It seemeth that Pierrepont was lodged where Crichton was, in Martin Tower, and that he had the same means to confer with Roscarrock as Crichton had. My acquaintance is yet but new with Pierrepont."

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxxviii. n. 11.

The Martin Tower was at the inner corner of the bastion wall towards East Smithfield, but between it and the outer world there was "the Mount" and the broad moat. The "little maiden" who came to Roscarrock's window was therefore within the precincts of the Tower of London. Henry Orton, one of those condemned with Father Campion, was the only layman that was banished with Father Haywood and the other priests in 1585.

It is probable from the note, which says that Father Crichton was "to be continued for a season in the Tower," that it was then intended that he should soon follow the others into banishment. He seems, however, to have been kept in durance for more than another year. A paper[1] dated November 30, 1586, called "The lords' resolution upon the prisoners," has a singular entry respecting this Father. "Crichton: the matter he is charged withal sufficiently known." And Father Crichton's name is the first in a list of prisoners against which there is written: "Her Majesty's pleasure to be known touching these persons."

His liberation, though not immediate, is attributed to one of Parry's confessions, in which it was said that, when consulted whether it was lawful to kill the Queen, Father Crichton had answered distinctly and strongly that it was not lawful. After an examination on the subject, Father Crichton wrote a letter to Walsingham, which was published by Elizabeth's orders. Bartoli[2] translates it from Holinshed, to whose Chronicle we have had recourse for the letter. Crichton afterwards told Father Louis Richeome, a French Jesuit, that Elizabeth had said that it could not be true that all the Jesuits were in conspiracy against her life, if this Jesuit had, when in France, declared that it was unlawful to kill her, and had done his best to dissuade an intended assassin.

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv. n. 32.
[2] *Inghilterra*, lib. iv. cap. x. p. 291.

"Right honourable Sir,—When your honour demanded me if Master Parry did ask me if it were leason [? lawful] to kill the Queen, in deed and verity, then I had no remembrance at all thereof. But since, thinking on the matter, I have called to mind the whole fashion of his dealing with me, and some of his arguments: for he dealt very craftily with me, I dare not say maliciously. For I did in nowise think of any such design of his, or of any other, and did answer him simply after my conscience and knowledge to the verity of the question. For after that I had answered him twice before, *Quod omnino non liceret;* he returned late at even by reason I was to depart early in the next morning towards Chambery in Savoy, where I did remain, and being returned out of the close within one of the classes of the College he proponed to me of new the matter, with his reasons and arguments.

"First he alleged the utility of the deed for delivering of so many Catholics out of misery, and restitution of the Catholic religion. I answered, that the Scripture answereth thereto, saying: *Non sunt facienda mala, ut veniant bona.* So that for no good, how great that ever it be, may be wrought any evil, how little that ever it be. He replied that it was not evil to take away so great evil, and induce so great good. I answered, that all good is not to be done, but that only, *quod bene et legitime fieri potest.* And, therefore, *dixi Deum magis amare adverbia, quam nomina. Quia in actionibus magis ei placent bene et legitime, quam bonum. Ita ut nullum bonum liceat facere, nisi bene et legitime fieri possit. Quod in hoc casu fieri non potest.* Yet, said he, that several learned men were of the opinion: *Quod non*[?] *liceret.* I answered, that these men perhaps were of the opinion, that for the safety of many in soul and body, they would permit a particular to his danger, and to the occult judgment of God: or perhaps said so, moved rather by some compassion and commiseration of the miserable estate of the Catholics, not for any such doctrine

that they did find in their books. For it is certain, that such a thing is not licit to a particular, without special revelation divine, which exceedeth our learning and doctrine. And so he departed from me. Out of the prison in the Tower, the 20th of February [158⅘].

"Your honour's poor servitor in Christ Jesus,

"W. CREITCHTON, Prisoner."[1]

CHAPTER VI.

FATHER WESTON'S FIRST CONVERT.

"I WAS invited to the houses of several Catholics, and had frequent opportunities of preaching and hearing confessions: saying Mass I had never been obliged to leave off. Whilst I was occupied with these functions, and admitted myself with more freedom and boldness into the society of Catholics, it happened, either through the perfidy of some pretended Catholics, as is wont to be the case, or else by the levity of others who talk of everything and know not how to keep a secret, that it became known that, upon one particular day, I was going to be present and preach in the house of a certain Catholic. This I certainly did, in presence of a sufficiently numerous congregation, considering the disturbed state of the Church. When the whole had been accomplished according to our desires, and I was going forth out of the door, I beheld a man walking up and down in front of the entrance, as though he were waiting for something. However, I passed him by. When I was safe away, it was told me the next day by a Catholic gentleman whose house had been searched by the heretics on the following night, that strict inquiries

[1] Holinshed's *Chronicles*, London, 1587, vol. iii. fol. 1388.

had been made of him respecting me; and that when, on the preceding day, I had been present in such and such a house, notice had been taken by some one who desired to apprehend me, but that, from a cause unknown, I had suddenly disappeared from his sight, and so, through God's goodness, I was enabled to escape the danger.

"About this same time I formed an intimate acquaintance with a most zealous Catholic who was in the service of the Earl of A[rundel]; and since, besides the special faithfulness which he displayed to the Earl, he had the art of managing with prudence and dexterity any affair that was intrusted to him, that nobleman explained to him, together with other private matters commended to his honour and care, that he was filled with desire of changing his life and manners, that he was weary of heresy, was anxious to become a Catholic, and requested him to look out for a priest such as he judged most suitable for the furtherance of his designs. All this the good man communicated to me, and place and time were appointed for the carrying out of the Earl's desire. The affair was transacted quietly in the darkness of the night, so that no one might see me either going out or coming in accompanied by the Earl, or talking with him for long together in a quiet and separate place; more particularly because a suspicion was entertained by certain members of his family, who observed him closely, that some such idea was floating in his mind. On the second or third day, however, I was sent for again, and in a chosen place, in presence of himself and one or two of his nearest relations, not more, I celebrated Mass and gave him Holy Communion."

The Catholic in the service of the Earl of Arundel who brought Father Weston to him to receive him into the Church, may have been either Mr. Richard Bayly, who did a similar good service to the Countess, or Mr. John Momford, his secretary, who was apprehended on his way to Flanders, and committed to the Gatehouse. Both

these good men were suspected of being priests. It is more likely that it was Mr. Bayly that introduced Father Weston to the Earl, as apparently Mr. Momford was in prison at the time, subjected to examinations which were intended to compromise the Earl.

"By reason of those troubles," says the Jesuit Father who wrote the beautiful lives of the Earl and Countess of Arundel which were published by the late Duke of Norfolk,[1] "the Earl had deferred his reconciliation to the Church of God which he very earnestly desired, but could not put in execution for want of means and opportunity. So soon, therefore, as they were a little overpassed, he used such diligence therein, that he procured a meeting with Father William Weston, a very virtuous and religious priest of the Society of Jesus, well known in England by the name of Father Edmonds, and much esteemed in it and other countries for his constant suffering of seventeen years' imprisonment in the Tower of London, Wisbech, and other places, for the profession of the Catholic religion.

"By this good man was the Earl reconciled in the year 1584, and by his means received such comfort to his soul as he never had felt before in all his life, and such good directions for the amending and ordering of his life, as afterwards did greatly help and further him therein. For, ever after that time he lived in such manner as that he seemed to be changed into another man, having great care and vigilance over all his actions, and addicting himself much to piety and devotion. For which purpose forthwith he procured to have a priest ever with him in his own house, by whom he might frequently receive the Holy Sacrament, and daily have the comfort to be present at the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, whereto with

[1] *The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres, his wife.* Edited from the original MSS. by the Duke of Norfolk, E.M. 1857, p. 26.

great humility and reverence he himself in person many times would serve."

In this passage the Earl's conversion is placed in 1584, the year of Father Weston's entry into England. The indictment of the Earl charges him with having been "treasonably reconciled" on the 30th of September, 26° Elizabeth, that is, 1584, at the Charter-house. If this date is correct, Father Weston must have been taken to the Earl within a few days of his landing, for he left France on the 12th of September. But the indictment speaks of Allen and others conspiring at Rome on the 26th of May, and at Rheims on the 31st of May, in the same year. This being impossible, these are but fancy dates, and so perhaps the date of the Earl's reconciliation is imaginary also. The indictment was content also with a legal fiction, in saying that "one William Weston, otherwise Edmonds, being a seditious and traitorous Jesuit, and Edward Bridges, otherwise Gratley, being a seditious and traitorous Seminary man and priest, did June 1, 26° Elizabeth [1584], arrive in the kingdom of England from parts beyond the seas." It was most probable that the indictment is right in naming the Charterhouse, as the place where the Earl was reconciled by Father Weston, for it was his London dwelling-house. It was bought by the Duke, his father, in 1565, and as it was sold in 1611 by the Earl's brother, Thomas Howard, then Earl of Suffolk, it must have been a part of the lands for the grant of which he disgracefully "made means unto the Queen immediately upon his [brother's] attainder."[1]

The priest who became the Earl's chaplain was Edward Gratley, and that the greatest confidence was reposed in him is shown by the note that the Earl wrote from shipboard, in which[2] he requested "his sister the Lady Margaret Sackville that she should speak to Mr. Bridges,

[1] *Life of the Earl of Arundel*, p. 72. [2] *Ibid.* p. 54.

alias Gratley, a priest, to give one hundred pounds to the bearer, by the token that was betwixt them that 'black is white.'" Gratley, who was one of the first students of the English College at Rome, had begun well, and in a letter to Father Agazzari of the 3rd of February, 1582, Father Persons praises him highly.[1] *Eduardus Gratleus alumnus vester . . . est mihi valde necessarius et optime se gerit.*

Gratley's perversion was due to his acquaintance with Gilbert Gifford, who had been his fellow-student at the English College. That he was in communication with Gifford while he was the Earl's chaplain, and that this was the cause of the Earl's ruin, is too plain; but we do not know whether he was yet aware of the treachery of Gifford, in which he afterwards became an accomplice. Sir Christopher Hatton told[2] the Earl of Arundel after his first examination on May Day, 1585, "If he loved his life not to conceal any of those things which were already known, as that he and his brother the Lord William had sent to Dr. Allen; that they had attempted to go over; that they had heard from, and offered to be directed by him; that Mr. Bridges the priest was the messenger who was commanded by Dr. Allen to deliver the message unto them both jointly, and came unto them by the name of Gratley, with divers other circumstances which were all most true. For Mr. Bridges had out of confidence told all these things to one Mr. Gilbert Gifford, a priest, who then lived at Paris, in France, and after was discovered to be a spy, who gave intelligence of these and all other things he could come to know unto some of the Council."

The use that was made of this against the Earl may be gathered from one of the clauses in his indictment.[3]

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 26.

[2] *Life of the Earl of Arundel*, p. 57.

[3] Translated and abridged from the *Baga de secretis* in the *Fourth Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 280.

"That the Earl of Arundel, 4th October, 26° Elizabeth [1584], treasonably compassed to depose and slay the Queen, &c., and that he did afterwards, to wit, 20th November, 27° Elizabeth [1584],[1] at the Charterhouse adhere to and confederate himself with Allen, attainted as before mentioned, and on the said 20th of November, 27° Elizabeth, at the Charterhouse, admitted to Bridges, who had communicated with him, the Earl of Arundel, on the part of Allen concerning the said treasons, that he, the Earl of Arundel, would be at the direction of Allen, and would do whatsoever he, Allen, should direct for the promotion of the Catholic cause, meaning thereby the restoration of the Roman religion in England and the following invasion."

It is difficult to imagine how Gratley can have given such information without knowing that he was treacherously ruining the Earl. It is certain that in May, 1586,[2] he was in communication, under the name of Foxley, with Walsingham, either directly or indirectly. He wrote a book against the Jesuits which Gifford offered to Walsingham; "a mad book," even Phelippes called it,[3] which, nevertheless, Walsingham sent to Paris for publication. In consequence of it Gratley, who had been previously received into Cardinal Allen's household, before his misdoings were known, was imprisoned for five years in the Holy Office at Rome. To have fallen into such hands was the first and greatest misfortune of the Earl of Arundel.

The perplexity felt by the Earl when bound to attend the Queen on state occasions, that he might escape notice while absenting himself from Protestant service, which is the subject next mentioned by Father Weston, he himself mentions in the letter that he wrote to the Queen when he

[1] Elizabeth's regnal years begin on the 17th of November.

[2] *Letter-Books of Sir Amias Poulet*, pp. 189, 385.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 219.

attempted to leave England. He says,[1] "Being resolved rather to endure any punishment than willingly to decline from the beginning I had begun, I did bind myself wholly as near as I could to continue in the same without any act which was repugnant to my faith and profession. And by means hereof was compelled to do many things which might procure peril to myself and be an occasion of mislike unto your Majesty: for the first day of this Parliament when your Majesty with all your nobility was hearing of a sermon in the Cathedral Church of Westminster above in the chancel, I was driven to walk by myself below in one of the aisles. And one day this last Lent when your Majesty was hearing another sermon in the Chapel at Greenwich, I was forced to stay all that while in the Presence Chamber. To be short, when your Majesty went upon any Sunday or holy day to your great closet, I was forced to stay either in the Privy Chamber, and not to wait upon you at all, or else presently to depart as soon as I had brought you to the Chapel."

The first of these occasions is related by Father Weston. "Already the above-mentioned Parliament had been summoned, and had begun to hold its session in London, as, I think, in the early part of the year 1585, at which it was necessary for the Earl to be present, both on account of the high position which he held in the State, as likewise because of his office about the Queen's person, seeing that he was one of the chief noblemen of the kingdom. Cruel perplexities now assailed him. He saw that he would immediately be not only suspected by all, but known to be a Catholic, if he were to abstain from the profane ceremonies of the heretics, which were celebrated each day before the beginning of Parliament. He turned over in his mind every possible plan or pretext of evasion. Should he feign sickness? Should he be engrossed in some other occupation? Should he hide himself? Should

[1] *Life*, p. 42.

he fly away? He could find no feasible plan, none which was not beset with great and imminent perils. The day drew on; the peers of the realm assembled: all men and all things were in a state of readiness such as is requisite for the pomp of a royal procession. Among the rest appeared the Earl of A[rundel] to fulfil his rightful function in attendance upon the Queen, trembling, however, for the result of the design which God had suggested to his mind.

"They proceeded to the Parliament House, each one intent upon his order and office. The Earl's place was close to the person of the Queen, as he was one of her train-bearers. Having entered the House of Parliament, all of them, Queen and nobles, took their appointed places, a signal was given for the profane ceremonies; the Earl hurried away from their celebration, pretending that he was overwhelmed with the crowd and suffocated with the heat, and so ingeniously had he arranged appearances to look like the truth, trying to look flushed, and unbuttoning his dress and seeming to enjoy the fresh air while the service was going on, that for some days his secret escaped notice.

"His religion, however, could not be long kept hidden. When I heard all these things from his own lips, and he at the same time explained to me that he was perpetually nurturing in his mind a plan of escape into France, I did my best to dissuade him from it, both because I thought that he would thereby endanger his person and his estate, and also because I doubted whether his enemies would go so far against him as to inflict imprisonment or death if they had nothing to allege in his disfavour beyond the name and cause of religion; which idea was strengthened by the visible cases of other illustrious men; and further still, because his presence and public profession of faith would be such an encouragement to all Catholics for their improvement, inciting them to follow bravely so excellent and illustrious an example. He then replied

to me that his plan had been recommended to him by Dr. Allen, who was then President of the Seminary at Rheims, and that he had consulted him by letter, and was determined to follow his counsel. I did not wish to oppose any longer the opinion of so wise and experienced a person, and left the Earl therefore to pursue his own course. He hastened to carry out his intention as rapidly as possible, not judging it safe to indulge in delays. He fell in with a man who engaged to undertake the management of the whole affair and to carry it out faithfully. The time was appointed, the ship was prepared, the harbour designated; everything requisite for the voyage was embarked and in order. They weighed anchor; and with a prosperous breeze sought the open sea. They deemed themselves already secure and beyond the reach of danger, when suddenly they fell into the path of a hostile ship that had been at a distance insidiously observing their departure (for so it had been agreed upon that the Earl should be seized in the act of flight and not in the harbour), and he was brought back a prisoner. How the Earl's escape became known to the heretics was never by him clearly ascertained; suspicion fell, however, upon one of the persons who was in the ship with him."

There was a priest on board the ship in the Earl's company, who was apprehended with him, and afterwards became one of Father Weston's fellow-prisoners at Wisbech. He is mentioned thus in a report[1] that was made to the Government about them: "Jonas Meredith, *alias* Farmer, a Seminary priest, was first taken in a ship with the Earl of Arundel, attempting to fly the realm, and is a great persuader to papistry."

The two servants whom the Earl took with him on board the ship were named Bray and Burlace. William Bray cannot have betrayed him. He was known after-

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcix. n. 91.

wards to the English Government as "a common conveyor of priests and recusants, and of naughty books over the seas, and was taken carrying the Earl of Arundel over seas."[1] He seems to have taken up this as a profession, and a trusty and skilful man would find it a lucrative occupation, for there were always passengers for France or Flanders, who would be glad to pay handsomely for a good pilot. He was naturally much looked after by the pursuivants. With regard, however, to the other man, amongst the charges made against the Earl in the Star Chamber[2] was "a certain writing of his servant Burlace, who was one of those who was to have gone with him, wherein something was contained about his being to be made Duke of Norfolk: to which he protested that Burlace never acquainted him with any such thing, and that he never so much as heard thereof until the present time wherein they alleged it against him." So Burlace seems to have given some evidence against his master.

"The Earl strictly guarded was brought to London and thrust into the Tower [April 25, 1585]. A short time afterwards sentence was pronounced against him, and his property confiscated;[3] and when during many years he had suffered with constancy the hardships of a most painful imprisonment, debarred from the sight and conversation of all who were dearest to him, having nourished his mind every day with holy meditations and pious readings, full of the faith which he so bravely confessed, he rendered up his blessed soul to his Creator in peace on Sunday, October 19, 1595, in the eleventh year of his imprisonment."

[1] *Lansdowne MSS.* 58, fol. 13.

[2] *Life*, p. 63.

[3] The Earl was condemned, in 1585, in the Star Chamber to a fine of 10,000*l.* and imprisonment at the Queen's pleasure. The date of his arraignment for high treason in the Queen's Bench at Westminster, and of the sentence for his execution at Tyburn, was April 14, 1589.

His biographer tells us[1] that "he had a great desire to have the assistance of Father Weston at his death, by whose means he was first reconciled to the Church, but it would by no means be permitted that either he or any other priest should come to him."

Respecting a suspicion which has found record on the Earl's coffin-plate,[2] Father Weston says: "Some imagined that he was carried off by poison. For my own part I inquired of a Catholic who in his boyhood had served him in the Tower, but I was never able to discover anything certain. When dying he bequeathed to me the breviary which he had used. Our Father Garnet wished to retain this book in his own keeping, as a precious relic for those who will come after us. He did not venture to intrust it to my custody, because, as he said, my things might at any moment be taken from me by violence, and it was not fit to expose to such jeopardy a treasure that in his estimation was more to be valued than gold.

"The following also I ought to have mentioned amongst the praises of this soldier of Christ. In the midst of his most grievous tribulations an offer of liberation from prison was sent to him on the part of the Queen, on condition that he would hold a disputation on the subject of religion with the so-called Archbishop of Canterbury. This he refused to accede to, choosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God than to enjoy the brief delights of temporal liberty, esteeming the persecutions greater riches than the unjust and false pleasures of worldly prosperity."

In the Earl's biography[3] we have the expression respecting conference with a Protestant minister, that "he thought it lawful in regard, as he signified to Father

[1] *Life*, p. 114.

[2] Non absque veneni suspicione in Domino obdormivit." *Ibid.* p. 123.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 151.

Southwell, he remembered that Father Weston had once told him he might admit of a minister offered or urged upon him, so that he had a priest allowed who could answer and detect his untruths; adding withal that peradventure such a disputation might by the grace of God work some unexpected good towards some who were most forward to procure it, if they were not too far given over."

The good Earl was probably thinking of the memorable disputation to which he owed his own conversion, for[1] "by the providence of God it so happened that he was present at the disputation which was made in the Tower of London in the year 1581, concerning divers points of religion betwixt Father Edmund Campion of the Society, Mr. Sherwin and some other priests of the one part, Charke, Fulke, Whitaker and some Protestant ministers of the other: for by that he saw and heard there he easily perceived on which side the truth and true religion was."

Before we part from Father Weston's first convert, who lived in his prison like a saint and died like a martyr, it will not be out of place to remark that by a slip of the memory in after years, Father Persons asserted that the Earls of Arundel and Northumberland were received into the Church by Father Jaspar Haywood. "I am astounded at the take of fishes," wrote Father Jaspar, and Persons wishes to explain the saying. "And what can I say," the good Father subjoins, "but, Depart from me for I am a sinner?" But the letter[2] in which this occurs is dated April 16, 1583, and the Earl of Arundel was not reconciled before September, 1584, when Father Haywood was in the Tower.

That it was Father Weston who fulfilled this happy office in his behalf, his biographer frequently asserts. For instance,[3] "The like grateful mind and great affection he also ever bore and always showed unto Father William Weston, by whom he was first reconciled, and for his sake

[1] *Life*, p. 19. [2] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 45. [3] *Life*, p. 136.

unto the whole Society, for thus he writ in a letter to one of them. 'I call God to witness I have and do principally in my heart most affect, reverence, and honour your vocation above others, for that I have seen, heard, and read; as also in respect that from one of that calling I received the greatest good which ever I tasted.'"

Not only is the Earl's breviary lost, which would have been prized as an inestimable relic, but also the manuscripts on which he occupied himself in prison. "One book of Lanspergius containing an epistle of Jesus Christ to the faithful soul he translated out of Latin into English, and caused it to be printed for the furtherance of devotion." It appeared after his death bearing the imprint of London, 1598, and again St. Omers, 1610. This was probably intrusted to Father John Gerard's editorship, as the translation is generally attributed to him.

But more valuable than any translation would be the "three treatises of the excellency and utility of virtue, which never came to light by reason he was forced to send them away upon fear of a search, before they were fully perfected and polished."[1] They were sent to Father Weston, and Father Garnet rightly estimated the risks that anything ran that was in his charge. In the humility of the saintly author, "those treatises which he compiled in the praise of virtue were judged by him to contain great faults and gross errors, in which respect he willed his secretary, Mr. Keeper, to deliver them to Father Weston to be corrected. 'I pray you,' says he, 'if it please God to call me, make this humble petition for me to that blessed Father to whose will you shall commit that work, that as charity covereth many faults, so my charitable intent therein to do good to all, and not willingly offend any, may obtain a pardon for all my gross faults and absurd errors."[2]

[1] *Life*, p. 106. [2] *Ibid.* p. 138.

These writings would have been precious relics, but we must be content to forego them as we have to be satisfied with the scanty remains that have descended to us of the history of the great Catholics of those days; but amid the sad privation of the relics of the bodies of our martyrs, we may well rejoice when we remember that we possess the relics of this brave confessor and martyr for his faith, Philip Howard. The bones of the Earl are in an iron chest in the vault of Fitzalan Chapel at Arundel. Each bone is wrapped up in silk. Canon Tierney on one occasion opened the chest, and took out one of the bones which he gave to the late Duke of Norfolk. It is preserved by the Duchess in a gold reliquary.

"A glorious confessor, yea a martyr," Cornelius à Lapide says of him, naturally associating Philip, Earl of Arundel, with the words of St. Paul, "For you had compassion on them that were in bands, and took with joy the being stripped of your own goods, knowing that you have a better and a lasting substance." That "we all ought to esteem him" as a martyr for the Catholic faith, "and may with just reason commend ourselves to his holy prayers and intercession," is his biographer's conclusion, who adds that such "is the general persuasion of all learned Catholic men, both of our own and other nations."

CHAPTER VII.

POSSESSIONS AND EXORCISMS.

"WHEN Parliament closed, the Act against all priests was immediately promulgated, ordering them to quit the kingdom within forty days under pain of death. Some obeyed, thinking it wise to yield to the fury of the time, but the greater number remained to strengthen the courage of Catholics, lest in a season of such important changes they might be stricken with too great terror, and if deprived of the sacraments and pious exhortations might lose heart; also lest the sudden flight of all the clergy should seem to arise out of fear and slothfulness rather than a sound deliberation. They did not wish that the heretics should be too much pleased at such a favourable beginning of their designs, if at the first onset of war they should put to flight all the leaders of Christ's army, and as if the victory were half attained, find themselves in a position to wreak their vengeance upon others. They were, in fact, exceedingly annoyed at the small number of those who gave way; for the vast majority determined to stand with intrepidity and await the issue of so sacred a conflict.

"For my part, I thought that I ought to withdraw for awhile into a solitary place, there to observe the course of events, and the shape after which they were about to fashion themselves. I should in this manner gain experience as to the mind and disposition of Catholics, as to whether they would retain their wonted constancy of faith, whether they would seek out priests,

petition for them, and keep them; or whether they would repel them, or at all events be quite willing to be abandoned by them in such great perils; and I deemed it to be far more to the purpose that I should be enticed and summoned to them rather than that, by putting myself forward, I should cause them for my sake to risk the loss of their lives and property.

"When, however, I was turning these things over in my mind, a Catholic gentleman requested me to take up my abode in his house, a large, solitary, and commodious mansion which he possessed at the distance of three leagues from London. I did not refuse an offer which tallied so well and conveniently with my own intentions. Taking therefore a companion for my journey, we mounted our horses in the evening after dark to avoid being seen. We travelled in safety, and passed that night well; and I began to congratulate myself upon the convenience of the place and the goodness of our host. In the morning, however, when I had prepared myself for the celebration of Mass (for the chamber was fair and particularly suited for the purpose), everything being arranged commodiously in respect to time and place, and I was in the chapel about to put on the sacred vestments, there came a messenger from London warning me to depart instantly from thence, for it was already known at Court that Father Cornelius and I had arrived. It was indeed true that both of us had been invited, although he had not yet reached the house. What was there for me to do? Necessity and danger drove me away; but whither I could go in safety was not very apparent. Spies were continually on the alert, to watch the roads and distinguish the passers-by. For awhile I walked in the garden adjoining the house, prepared for flight, until one and another came up to me to repeat and confirm the news that the searchers would presently be at hand to besiege the house and explore it thoroughly. I made no further delay, but removed from

the house in company with a person who undertook to show me the way towards a lonely and dilapidated building. There I remained the entire day, looking out often through the holes and crevices, so that if the pursuivants should be visible in the distance I might fly into the neighbouring wood and hide under cover of the trees. In the evening a horse was brought to me, and I made my escape."

Father Weston now comes in his narration to a topic, in which it is particularly necessary to bear in mind the feelings of his time. The idea of possession by the devil the nineteenth century thinks itself justified in regarding as superstitious and absurd. How far this is consistent on the part of those who profess to believe in the New Testament it is for them to consider. If they should be inclined to scoff at the accounts of possessions and exorcisms as related in Catholic books, they would do well to read again the Gospel narratives of possessions and exorcisms, such as the account of the demoniacs among the tombs, whose legions of devils our Blessed Lord permitted, on their own petition, to enter into the herd of swine and to remember that the power of casting out devils was exercised by the Apostles and bequeathed by our Lord to "them that believe."[1]

All that Catholics say about it is that diabolical possessions are still possible and that the power of exorcism is left with the Church. Indeed, one of the minor orders relates exclusively to this power. But Catholics are not bound to believe that in this or that particular case there was real possession or exorcism. In any case there may be conscious or unconscious deception. And as to the one particular case mentioned by Father Weston, of devils moving about under a person's skin like fishes swimming, we may be greatly inclined with Burghley to laugh at it as absurd. It is at all events without example.

[1] St. Matt. viii. 28, 31; St. Luke ix. 1; x. 17; St. Mark xvi. 17.

But that we should not draw the line where they drew it, will not justify us in ridiculing the priests of that time who sincerely believed in the reality of the possessions that were then so much spoken about, much less in regarding them as impostors.

Most of the priests who were known as exorcists were afterwards martyred. "Father Cornelius, called by the Protestants a conjurer and enchanter, is in safety and doth much good by his singular gift in preaching." So says an intercepted letter[1] signed "Robert," probably written by Father Southwell to Father Agazzari. A spy writing[2] to Walsingham calls Garlick "the demonite." Bishop Yepez relates[3] exorcisms by Dibdale and Nelson. Adams and Lowe were both exorcists. And all these gave their lives for their religion. They might have been deceived certainly, but these are not the men to be deceivers. If there was imposture it was most likely suggested by reality, and no end would be gained by an attempt on our part to judge of details.

The effect produced at the time was very great. Anthony Tyrrell, an apostate priest, of whom we shall hear much in the sequel, said when examined on the subject in 1602, "I cannot in my conscience esteem the number fewer, that in the compass of half a year were by that means reconciled to the Church of Rome, than five hundred persons: some have said three or four thousand."

Tyrrell mentions in the following terms the account of the exorcisms which Father Weston says that he wrote. "There was also a treatise framed to prove, first, that in former times divers had been possessed. Secondly, that Christ hath left to His Church certain remedies for the dispossessing of such parties. Thirdly, that in the

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxv. n. 119.
[2] P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xix. n. 103
[3] *Persecucion de Inglaterra*, p. 97.

casting out of devils there hath been great use of application to the demoniacs of holy relics: . . . If I be not deceived Ma[ster] Edmonds, *alias* Weston, was the author of this book."

The mention of the relics of the English martyrs is curious and interesting. "We omitted not," says Tyrrell, "the relics and bones of Ma. Campion, Ma. Sherwin, Ma. Brian, and Ma. Cottam, to have some little testimony by implication from the devil to prove them holy martyrs."

The chief houses where these exorcisings took place were Sir George Peckham's, at Denham, near Uxbridge, and the old Lord Vaux's at Hackney. Father Weston in the Autobiography speaks of the subject as follows "In those days there were many persons, even Catholics, tormented with an evil spirit, who caused terrible molestation to the people with whom they dwelt, whom it was difficult, nevertheless, to relieve by exorcisms, because of the loud and vehement shriekings, vociferations and howlings which they are accustomed to raise during such ceremonies. Notwithstanding this, the deliverance of those who laboured under so grievous an affliction, and compassion towards those who had such persons in their houses, seemed to demand that something should be tried, and that the care of them should not be neglected, seeing that God might be pleased to assist the sufferers and grant them the desired relief. This indeed He did clearly; for out of many persons the devils were cast, not without the manifest interference of heaven and to the incredible admiration of those who looked on. Persons were cured and set free from those monsters when I was myself present and beheld that which passed. At the time when the matter was fresh I wrote in letters many details concerning it which I could not now remember, neither would they perhaps belong exactly to my present undertaking; still a few words upon the subject will not be out of place.

"In the service of the elder Cecil there was a young Catholic gentleman who had been a witness of these exorcisms, for it was in the house of a relation of his that many were used, and upon divers persons. When, therefore, the matter became notorious, and the rumour of it reached as far as the Court and the ears of the Queen's Councillors, Cecil conversed upon the subject with the above-mentioned young man, and in talking of these possessed persons and the exorcisms he raised various questions, and desired the youth to report to him clearly as to the truth of what was in every one's mouth respecting the possessed, and whether the narrations concerning them were realities that deserved to be believed. The young man having received permission from his lord (whom he knew to be a persecutor of the Faith and of all good men), related to him what he had seen and heard, which amounted to something so marvellous that it could hardly be described. Cecil laughed at everything as being probably a fraud and a series of impositions devised by priests to deceive. Then the young man swore a solemn oath to the truth of his assertions. 'Apart from other awful things,' he said, 'you could see the devils gliding about and moving under the skin in immense numbers, in visible form, like fishes swimming.' 'Go along with you,' said Cecil, 'great knave that you are, never see me again, or come near my house any more.' Knowing that he was wrong, vexed by the evidence of the thing, and still more by his own conscience, he could not endure to learn any further, for he was afraid, I think, lest such a striking testimony of the truth should compel him to open his eyes and assent to it, or lest it should increase the remorse of his conscience that was uneasy.

"Here likewise it may not be unsuitable to narrate that some pursuivants, with warrants to search, came to that very house where the demoniacs were, with an intention of discovering what might be going on, and who

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were present, so that they might arrest any priests or suspected persons whom they might find. They chose the time that seemed most likely for the celebration of Mass and exorcisms. They knocked a long time at the door, for that house was a large one, and surrounded with a lofty wall, otherwise they would have rushed in at any visible entrance and have taken all unawares. On being required to show their authority, they produced the warrants with which they were furnished, and named the magistrates by whom they had been sent, and at last were admitted into the house. Just within the threshold they met with one of the victims of possession. It was a girl, and as soon as she saw them she looked and ground her teeth and declared that one of them (a man whom she named) had a thousand devils hanging on the buttons of his dress. At this the pursuivants were so scared that they forgot all the furious temper with which they had come. In their excessive fright they seemed half dead and became perfectly gentle. They not only showed no violence, but did not so much as touch a thing in the whole house, either because they had no will to do so, or because they durst not. They did not search any corner or room, but went only where they were taken. However, when they went away they asked the lady of the house to give security for her appearance within a certain time before the Privy Council. There were, nevertheless, various priests at the time in that house, and some of them actually saying Mass when they came. Everything was finished before the rogues were admitted into the house, and the priests had concealed themselves in the different hiding-places.

"This also I am inclined to mention. After the lapse of nearly a year, when I had been taken and had fallen into the power of the heretics, a secret examiner was sent, who came to me into the prison to take information. Being an inquisitive man, he inquired with much minuteness about

those events, but turned them all into ridicule, saying that he had seen the same kind of things performed by the tricks of juggling for the astonishment of the simple. In order to put down his insolence, I informed him of some of the events that were then passing, and I said that I wished that the Queen herself had been present, or some of her Councillors, to view those spectacles, or else that they could have taken place in public. I had no doubt but that many persons on witnessing and recognizing the power and majesty of the keys of the Church when used against those furies and monsters, and easily discerning the difference of power between the two religions, would yield the palm of victory to the Catholic faith. He then swore with a great oath that he would not by any means have liked to have been present at scenes so terrific: so little strength is there in an evil conscience when it is in the smallest degree touched by the weapon of God's Majesty, or by the root of things which are divine."

Under date June 28, 1602, Father Anthony Rivers wrote[1] to Father Persons in these terms. "His lordship [Richard Bancroft, then Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury] is in hand with a piece of work touching the incontinency of priests, for which purpose he hath called unto him Tyrrell, and some such lost companions as Mainy, and two or three women that were exorcised heretofore for being possessed, by some priests, and being now heretics, according to their confessions, compileth a book, which haply shortly you may see. Albeit Tyrrell hath refused to swear to the truth of such things as he hath confessed, which hath not a little troubled Mr. Bancroft, for that he meaneth nothing shall be said in his book but that which is avouched by the oath of others."

However Tyrrell did swear to his confessions, and in due time Samuel Harsnet, Bancroft's chaplain, after-

[1] Old Chapter MSS., *Rivers' Letters.*

wards Bishop of Chichester and Archbishop of York, published a book called "A declaration of egregious Popish Impostures, to withdraw the hearts of her Majesty's subjects from their allegiance and from the truth of Christian Religion professed in England, under the pretence of casting out devils. Practised [by] Edmonds *alias* Weston, a Jesuit, and divers Romish Priests, his wicked associates. Whereunto are annexed the Copies of the Confessions and Examinations of the parties themselves, which were pretended to be possessed and dispossessed, taken upon oath before her Majesty's Commissioners for causes Ecclesiastical. At London: Printed by James Roberts, dwelling in Barbican, 1603."[1]

The book is a vile book, full of the foulest insinuations. It is built upon the examinations of Sarah Williams, taken in 1602, Friswood, *alias* Frances Williams, taken in 1598 and "augmented" in 1602, Anne Smith, *alias* Atkinson, in 1598, Richard Mainy, gentleman, "written by himself" upon oath, June 6, 1602, and Anthony Tyrrell, clerk, "written with his own hand," also upon oath, June 15, 1602, from which some extracts have been already given.

This Friswood Williams is the wicked woman called Fid, who was believed to have borne a child to Bancroft, as Bishop Challoner relates in the Life of Richard Dibdale, in his *Missionary Priests*.

In her examination she has evidently tried to say what she thought would be most acceptable to her examiners, the Bishop of London, the Dean of Westminster, and their reverend assessors. She has said the vilest things of all the priests whom she names, and it is worthy of remark that the accusations of indecency against them, which are greedily seized upon by Harsnet, are not hinted at by the

[1] "The names of Modoz, Mohu, Frateretto, Flibberdigibit, and a few other particulars in Shakspeare's 'King Lear' were taken from this book." *Note in the copy in the Bodleian Library.*

other witnesses. A specimen will serve,[1] especially as it refutes itself.

"It was not long after this examinate came to Mrs. White, but that one Harrington, growing into acquaintance with her, did afterwards marry her, as she believeth. The marriage was in the Marshalsea, where after a Mass, one Lister, a priest (as she remembereth), then prisoner there, used certain Latin words, whereby they said she and the said Harrington were married together. There were present there five or six. After which time the said Harrington lived with this examinate at times for the space of about four or five years, she notwithstanding continuing her service with Mrs. White. . . . She further saith that the said Harrington being condemned and executed on the 18th of February, 1593 [O.S.] (as she remembereth), she married again with Ralph Dallidowne, a smith in Holborn, as she thinketh."

This flagrant calumny against the holy memory of a man who had given his life for his faith, is false on the face of it.

First, she says that a mock marriage was performed by a priest whom she names, after Mass, in the presence of five or six persons. Her examiners might be ready to believe such a story, but it is simply incredible that so many persons should be found amongst those who were in prison for their religion, so to make a mock of that religion by profaning holy Mass and the Sacrament of Matrimony.

Secondly, she says that the words used were Latin. Her examiners may not have known that the essential words of the contract always were in English. The form of the Anglican marriage service, as well as that which English Catholics now use, is taken from the ancient English form in the rite of Sarum. Fid could not have been deceived in the way she describes.

Thirdly, her story contains this glaring absurdity, that a man who had gone through a form of marriage in a place

[1] Harsnet's *Declaration*, p. 231.

so public as the Marshalsea prison, before a priest, in the presence of five or six witnesses, could go to the great College at Rheims, where he had previously spent two years and was well known, remain there eighteen months more, receive the Sacred Orders openly together with many others, the subdeaconship at Laon, deaconship and priesthood at Rheims, and one of these orders at the general ordination in the ecclesiastical capital of France, and the other at the hands of the Cardinal of Guise; that he could then go on the English mission and serve it till his death, mingling with Catholics in England for two years and known to them to be a priest; that that death should be at Tyburn, after a public trial for the crime of his priesthood—and no one have ever said, while he was preparing for Orders, or while he was receiving them, or while he was in England acting as a priest, or while being tried because he was a priest, or when his name was in every one's mouth as a martyr, that he had been married by a priest in the presence of five or six people. Such a story could be believed only by those who held the Catholics to be profoundly and generally depraved, and that such depravity extended to those who were suffering imprisonment for the sake of their religion.

Harrington was in the Marshalsea, but only for a few months, and that after his arrest as a priest. When examined[1] by Justice Young after his apprehension in May, 1593, he gives us such details of his life, that with the help of the Douay Diary we become well acquainted with his movements. He went first to the College at Rheims, in 1582, when he was only sixteen, and remained there for two years. When he left Rheims it was to enter the Jesuit Novitiate at Tournay, but he "came over into England because he could not have his health." As soon as he came over he was betrayed, in October, 1584, by Ralph Miller, the Rheims tailor,[2] and he was then "taken

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxlv. n. 14. [2] *Ibid.* vol. clxxiii. n. 64.

and sent to his father's house" at St. John's Mount, in Yorkshire, and there is no trace whatever of his being in prison, or even in London, till he was a priest.

From the Marshalsea he wrote to Lord Keeper Puckering a very manly and noble letter,[1] in which he said that if his life were granted to him "with such condition as he could observe without prejudice to his conscience and profession," he would be thankful for the favour, but that if not, he would "in all joy and patience expect his final sentence." "If my boldness and resolute answers," he wrote, "move any man, I desire him to remember that even nature and my bringing up, which hath not been illiberal"—he was a gentleman by birth—"always taught me in a just cause to be assured and confident; and more than this, in His cause my Saviour expressly commandeth me not to fear those who, having in ignominious sort hanged or quartered my body, have then no more whatever to do with me. And for my own part I protest sincerely unto your honour that, after once I had determined this course, which at God's good pleasure and yours I shall consummate, I made no more account of life, or any worldly pleasure, but, sleeping and waking, death was the continual object of my mind, the end of my desires, and the greatest honour which in this world I expected as the reward of my long and painful labours." This was not written from a place of security, but when he was in the hands of men who had indicted him of high treason. This is the true man, and this the spirit that animated him when imprisoned in the Marshalsea, not that which the calumnious tongue of Friswood Williams attributed to him when he was dead. Her story is false on the face of it, and as she bore false witness because she would say what she thought would please her examiners, it would be but wasting time to examine her evidence respecting the possessions and exorcisms.

[1] *Ibid.* vol. ccxlv. n. 66.

CHAPTER VIII.

HARD TIMES.

"THE times that succeeded the holding of Parliament were full of bitterness to Catholics, and beyond all measure grievous. For although before, the cruelties had been great, and tending to the destruction of many, yet now the fury of persecution lifted up itself much more vehemently against them. By means of the authority of the Earl of Leicester and the advice of Cecil (for under the Queen these two men were our rulers), it was brought about that for Catholics their country and native soil became changed into a ruthless and unfriendly ground; the hatred of all men was turned against them; they were laid in wait for, betrayed, attacked with violent and sudden assaults; they were plundered by night, their property was confiscated, their flocks were driven away, their cattle taken from them. What prison was there, what place, however dark and gloomy, which was not at that time rendered glorious by the noble and magnanimous confession of saintly confessors and even martyrs? In the cross-ways and public roads you might see guards suddenly stationed, so that none of the travellers passing by could move on in safety or without rigorous examination. On one and the same night and hour now a single city, now several throughout the kingdom, were disturbed with unlooked-for incursions of secret spies; the inns, the taverns, the lodging-houses, the bed-chambers, were searched with the utmost rigour; if suspected or unknown persons were found, unless they could give a satisfactory

account of themselves, they were either imprisoned or guarded until the next day came, and till they could clear themselves, in presence of a magistrate, from all suspicion of being Catholics, and particularly of being Catholic priests. Lying rumours were set afloat about the preparation and coming of a hostile fleet into England; false letters were forged pretending to come from Catholics, and containing conspiracies against the Queen; nothing was more in fashion than to believe that the Queen's death was intended by them; indeed, there were some spies that went so far as to disguise themselves as Catholics, and submit to arrest and incarceration, and to make a confession of guilt in order to inflame the passions of men against the Catholic name, and enable them to demand and exact vengeance upon them.

"It happened sometimes in London (and I have myself been present and heard the complaints and lamentations of Catholics) that it was reported as a certain fact that a decree had been passed by the Queen's Council for the suppression and massacre of all Catholics in their houses, on such or such a night. Many persons would then abandon their homes and resting-places, and spend the night in the fields; others hired boats on the Thames, and floated up and down the river. There was a saying spread abroad, which was supposed to have come from the lips of Cecil, to the effect that he would bring matters to such a pass that in a short time Catholics would be reduced to such a state of destitution that they would be unable to assist each other, and would be thankful if, like swine, they could find husks wherewith to assuage their hunger. Truly it seems to me that the prophecy of our Saviour was then accomplished: 'They will put you without the Synagogue, and all who shall slay you will think that they are doing God service.'

"Willingly I omit here the frequent arrests of priests and others, their imprisonments and violent deaths, which

were perpetrated partly in London, partly in York, at Winchester, Canterbury, and other places; for all these things have been diligently noted down in histories of their own, divided according to time, and described with their proper circumstances. New prisons, in like manner, were devised and erected at Wisbech, Ely, Reading, and they were filled with high-born persons for the most part, and illustrious men. When a request was made to the Queen to make similar arrangements for women, she is reported to have made answer: 'You have had your own way with the men; do you want to shut up the women. too, like nuns in cloisters? A fine work that would be!' and she withheld her consent. Nevertheless, there were in Yorkshire public prisons, where the wives of several men of rank were detained;[1] others were held captive in the houses of private persons. But as to the events which happened to myself during that sorrowful period of public affairs, or to others whom those trials touched, it may not be unseemly to put down some records here.

"There was a gentleman who desired to be present at Mass in his own house. The outer door of the house was therefore carefully shut, and the servant had orders not to admit any man without express leave from her master. He himself, meanwhile, in the upper part of the house, prepared and arranged everything necessary for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice. Then, having called the priest from his hiding-place, he put on a surplice, and devoutly served the father at Mass. By his side he had a sword in readiness.

"Mass was not quite finished when the pursuivants appeared at the door, and began their knocking. The servant, forgetting her orders, opened the door for them, and they suddenly rushed in. The maid saw her mistake, and shouted out lustily that thieves had broken in. When

[1] For some account of the Catholic ladies who were imprisoned in the Castle at Sheriff Hutton, see *Troubles*, First Series, p. 229.

her master heard the outcry, being still in his surplice, he seized his sword, met the men as they were ascending towards the room where Mass was going on, turned the point of his sword sharply upon them, and threw them downstairs, drove them into the lower part of the house, shut and barred the intervening doors, went upstairs again, removed and arranged everything, hid the priest in a safe place, took off his surplice, and then went down to the men, saying to them, 'And, pray, who are you, and what is your business here?' They, however, called him by his name, and said, 'You seem to have changed yourself into another man. Tell us, where is your surplice?' 'I?' said he, 'I in a surplice? I do not belong to the sort of people who wear surplices.' Then he produced some gold, lined their palms, appeased them, and sent them away.

"There was also an illustrious matron, who sent word to a certain priest whom she knew to be dwelling at the distance of a few leagues, requesting him to come to her house upon one special day to administer the sacraments to herself and her family. At the same time she entreated her husband to be absent from home on that day so that the priest might have freer access to the house and more facility in the discharge of his duties. The husband being attached to his wife, albeit not of the same religion, purposed to do as she wished; but before he could leave home there fell suddenly such a heavy shower of rain that he determined to stay within doors. The priest meanwhile remembered his appointment, and did not regard either the long journey or the rain. When he arrived he was soaked with the storm, and the person who opened the door to him at his coming chanced to be the master of the house, who, upon seeing the priest, guessed immediately the reason why he had been sent for. Nevertheless, he received him kindly and invited him to enter. He ordered a fire to be lit to dry his clothes, and showed him, in fact, every mark of hospitality

In the meanwhile the Catholic members of the family employed themselves in arranging a room and an altar, and all that was required for the celebration of Mass. They likewise prepared themselves for receiving Communion. They could not so well, however, keep the secret but that the master of the house formed a tolerably true idea of what was intended. He then went to the priest and asked to be allowed to be present at Mass, saying that he had heard much of it but had never seen it. The priest made answer that his request was not merely singular but even wrong, because sectaries and heretics were not admitted to Catholic rites as being excommunicated persons; sacred things were not to be given to dogs. The gentleman refused to accept this answer, but only urged his plea more forcibly. The priest yielded at last, under the impression that there must have been some spark of goodness lying beneath so earnest a petition. Neither did his hope deceive him. When the gentleman witnessed everything, the beauty of the ceremony, the reverence of the priest, the devotion of those who were present, feeling himself quite overcome either with terror or with great awe, he all at once in the middle of Mass, turned faint, pale and rigid, then a profuse perspiration broke out over him and he fell in a faint. His wife came to his assistance; the others who were near lifted him up from the ground, rubbed his hands, aided him in every manner, and at length after a long delay they brought him back to life and sensation. When the Mass and Communion were finished, the priest said to him, 'Now you have seen and felt by your own experience that you were unworthy to be present, and have received the just punishment of an excommunicated man. You have seen, too, what a miserable thing is life, how uncertain, how entirely dependent upon the will of God.' This event so profited the gentleman that by its means, together with the priest's short and expressive words, he was so moved

as to request the father not to depart for awhile, adding, 'Then I can hear from your lips what will tend to my advantage and that of my soul.' Being instructed in the Faith, and how to make his confession, he became a most exemplary Catholic, and continued so throughout his life with the greatest constancy. It fell in my way to see him myself upon one occasion when he came to Wisbech to visit us, bringing an ample alms with him in the fulness of his devotion.

"It was about this period that there occurred a very memorable incident which was narrated to me by a priest who was a witness of the fact. He had been invited to a Catholic house to administer the Holy Communion. He said Mass and was about to communicate those who were present. Amongst them was a young child who with great admiration watched all that was passing. The ceremony over, he attached himself to his mother, took hold of her dress, and said, 'Mother, mother.' 'What is it?' she asked. 'Did you not see? Did you not see?' he answered. 'But what should I see?' said the mother, The child replied, 'The wonderful little infant, and so beautiful, like nothing that you ever saw, that was placed in my father's mouth by my uncle (this was the priest who had distributed Communion), and my father received it and it disappeared. What a pity!' These and similar words he went on repeating to his mother, and he could not cease lamenting and complaining that the beautiful child was gone.

"I once obtained the familiar friendship of a young Catholic gentleman who used to bewail often and bitterly the condition of his father, whose wife and children were Catholics, together with some other members of the family, but who would persist himself in the outward profession of a false religion, though he was not ignorant of his error and danger in thus manifestly offending his Creator, and risking his own salvation. The young

man asked me if I would disguise myself, visit his father's house, and lay hold of some opportunity of conversing with him on the subject of religion. He went on to say, 'For my father delights in that kind of conversation and in company of those who make religion the matter of their discourse.' He had considerable learning for a person in his position of life, and was well versed in the science of law.

"I could not refuse to listen to such a request. Consequently I made my visit, and after a friendly salutation and a few words upon general matters, the rest of our conversation was devoted to such topics as belonged to religion. When our long discussion was concluded, and I was going away, he asked of his son who I might be. He added that it would please him much if I would visit him frequently. This I did accordingly, and became so intimate with him that he used to invite me into his library, and besides other books which he showed me, he would bring out even Durandus, Medina, and various scholastic authors which he was wont to peruse with diligence, hoping to find some passage in them which might excuse him in his custom of frequenting heretical assemblies and churches. He requested me to read the sentences which he had marked, and to solve the difficulties which he had woven together out of them, or which had been otherwise suggested to him by his own understanding. And when sometimes he was so far pressed that he was not well able to maintain his own position, he would cry out and say, 'Away with the heretics, the detestable enemies of God, with whom nothing is sacred, who are the destroyers of all law and the murderers of souls. Never will I put it within their reach to strip me of my property, so that myself, my wife and children should be all at their mercy.'

"Now I will mention the end of the life of this man who in other respects was honourable and adorned with

a variety of virtues. His house in London was scarcely ever a day or two without there being a priest within it. He owned, moreover, another house in the country (whither he used frequently to betake himself), and there he kept a brother of his who was a priest, so that, were illness to overtake him, he might always have a spiritual remedy at hand in a physician who could offer succour to his soul. Once when he was travelling, according to his custom, from one house to the other, he was taken ill in the middle of the journey, in an inn where he was resting. From thence he sent an express messenger to bring his brother, the priest, to him from home, but although much haste was used, before the priest could arrive he was dead. Thus it is God's way to surprise the wise in their craftiness. Something similar I heard also concerning another person who kept his son, a priest, privately in his house in case of any danger of death. One day he left his house to go into a neighbouring town, wherein having heard an heretical sermon, he was overtaken by a mortal malady, fell down and expired."

Perhaps the case here alluded to by Father Weston was the following, which is taken from "Relations of Mr. George Stokes and Mr. Heath concerning martyrs," copied by Father Christopher Grene.[1] "When I was a scholar in Oxford, Mr. Pitts of Iffley hard by, being a schismatic, and having two sons Catholic priests in his house, being often desired to come to the unity of the Church, answered that he could when he would; but as he went into our Lady's Church at Oxford, he fell down dead."

"The house in which I was myself entertained in secret was once visited by certain Catholics who gave a satisfactory account of themselves both to me and to the head of the family, and expressed their desire of hearing Mass. When it was over and all were departing, I remained at

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *M.* fol. 191.

home as usual, and going upstairs to the room where my books were kept, I began my occupations. After nearly two hours the whole house was besieged by a great concourse of men; by what accident or through whose information I know not. The servant ran to me suddenly, as I happened to be still in the house. He told me of the danger, and made me immediately come down into an underground hiding-place that he showed me. There are several such places in Catholic houses, otherwise there would be no security possible. I descended, having nothing but my breviary with me. Nothing else was at hand, and moreover it would have been dangerous to wait, for the heretics had already found their way into the house and were examining the more distant parts of it. From my cave I could hear where they were from the noise and tumult which they raised. Step by step they carried on their attacks. When they came to my chamber and saw my books they became more eager than before in their hope of discovering their prey. Within that room was a secret passage; of this they demanded the key, and after opening the door that led to it they stood so exactly over my head that I could hear almost every word that was uttered. 'See;' they cried, 'here is the chalice, and here is the missal.' These things were really there, for there had been no time or means of removing them. They demanded a hammer and instruments to break through the wall and the boarding, for they felt sure that I could not be far away. As for myself I was praying with no slight fervour to God that He would avert the danger. It struck me likewise that it would be nobler for a priest to surrender himself into the hands of the enemy rather than to endure being drawn out with ignominy. For I believed that some Judas had been informing and betraying me, and that the men knew perfectly well where I was to be found, but preferred that the discovery should be attributed to accident sooner

than to treachery, in order to conceal the guilt of the traitor.

"Whilst these thoughts were passing through my mind, one of the company, induced either by error or design, or as is more probable, by the suggestion of a good angel, exclaimed, 'Why do you spend your time looking for hammers and hatchets? There is no space here large enough to hold a man. Look at all the corners and where everything leads, there can be no secret place here.' The reasoning of this man proved effectual, and the men desisted from their resolution of searching any more and destroying the place. It was God's purpose, as I think, to deprive them all of common sense. For it seemed surprising that men of that kind, so expert in their employment, should have been unable to discover a place, that was not constructed with any remarkable skill or ingenuity. So at last they lost courage, and being very much fatigued after their tedious hunt, they departed, carrying away whatever they found, the silver chalice, the missal, a number of books, and what else I know not.

"They arrested and imprisoned the master of the house, and one or two more who belonged to his household, which was not large, seeing that a long while before he had been expelled from his own home, and had hired part of another. I think that at this same time his wife also was arrested; however, they did not long delay to release her as she was a woman of noble birth, and they did not care to treat her with severity on account of her position.

"So the whole day was passed by me and the night likewise, and the following day, until near sunset. It was winter time, and I was in a dark cellar, damp, cold, and so narrow that I was compelled to stand all the time. I had, moreover, to remain in perfect silence, without coughing or noise, because I was under the impression

that as they did not find me in all that time they would besiege the house, lest I should secretly escape. As none of the servants came to me during those long hours to open the door, it confirmed me in my suspicion that the enemies were still in possession of the place. It appeared to me, nevertheless, that something must be done to prevent myself from finding my hiding-place turned into my tomb whilst I was yet alive. I mounted the steps, therefore, and listened long to find whether I could distinguish voices or footsteps passing. After much watching no symptom of anything or of any person reached my ear; so, being at the top of the steps, I pressed my shoulders against the trap-door of the cellar, which had been shut from without. By many efforts, interspersed with prayers, I was but just able to break it open. Of one thing there was great fear, lest if I used too much force the cross-plank of the ladder should get broken under my feet and so fail me, in which case all hope would have been over, and I should have perished with the dreadful fall, for the person who had shut me in had been imprisoned; those who had remained at home did not know the place, and were unaware of what had become of me. When at last I had accomplished my purpose through using all the energies of my soul and body so that my bones ached for days afterwards, I was still at the top of the steps, with only my head and shoulders visible from above and listening all the time. As there was nothing to be heard I began to recite the Office for the day out of the breviary which I had with me. At length I was able to distinguish the voices of women, the lamentations of the mistress of the house and her nurse, and the voices of people calling me. Then I surmised that all was safe, and the house must be free from peril, so I came out entirely; otherwise, if there had been suspicion of danger, it would have been easy for me to have pulled down the trap-door, and to have descended. When I had fully

mounted I was covered with dust and spiders' webs; these had to be brushed off, and then I set off immediately and escaped, not without considerable danger, because, as I heard afterwards, there were watchmen in the way. Notwithstanding, through the goodness of God I escaped."

CHAPTER IX.

MISSIONARY LIFE.

"GOD delivered me from another peril, and, as I believe, no less a one, upon a different occasion. While I was in the house of a certain viscount, having been invited thither by a nobleman, the viscount's son-in-law,[1] in order to discourse about religion in presence of the daughter of the former, and sister of the wife of the latter, who desired earnestly to be instructed in Catholic doctrine. When I had arrived, and we were all together in one of the rooms absorbed in conversation concerning matters of faith and religion, a disturbance was quickly raised in the house, fomented, as the viscount's daughter believed, by her Puritan sister-in-law. It was rumoured that an old man, a priest, was already in the house, and engaged in a disputation in such and such an apartment. As these and several other persons had heard me speak, the gentleman who had invited me began to guess that a trap had been prepared in order to arrest me. He went out of the room where we were, and perceived that the

[1] "A quodam nobili viro et genero ejusdem vicecomitis." *Orig. Nobilis* is the usual term for a gentleman, and *vicecomes* may be the sheriff of a county. If this be a viscount, as seems probable from the phrase *tua dominatio*, a little lower, it must be Henry Howard, Viscount Howard of Bindon. Anthony Brown, Viscount Montague, was a Catholic.

Puritan lady had arranged watchers in various quarters of the house so that from whatever point I might try to escape there might be men to capture me.

"On the emergency he felt himself driven to a course of action that bordered upon insanity; for since the greatness of the danger did not allow time for longer deliberation, he determined to assemble his servants, take me by force through the midst of the house, rescue me from all the pursuers, place me in a boat, as the Thames was close by, and row me over to the opposite side of the river. He recollected himself, however, in time, considering how rash such an attempt must be, and how much danger and violence it must bring with it, involving perhaps murder as a necessary consequence. In the end he resolved to make an appeal to the viscount himself, his father-in-law, although certainly a heretic, even *ex officio* a persecutor. Thus putting his hope in God, he went to that nobleman and called him out of the room where he was talking and recreating himself after dinner in company with other men of rank. Finding that he lingered for awhile and continued his conversation, he called to him again, and asked him to make haste, seeing that the matter in hand was one that suffered not delay. The company present wondered what was the reason of such urgency. The viscount, however, quitted his companions and hurried to my friend, who explained to him the snare that had been set to catch me by his daughter-in-law; he asserted at the same time that she was quite mistaken in her opinion respecting me, for instead of being an old man and a priest, as she imagined, coming for the purpose of converting his daughter, I was a young gentleman quite well known to himself, come over to pay him a visit; that as I had been out of the country many years, travelling in other regions through curiosity, it was natural that various persons besides himself should be anxious to hear

what I had to say respecting the novelties of foreign lands. After his father-in-law had heard what he said, and had felt that it was unworthy of his dignity if so treacherous an action were perpetrated in his own house, in his own presence, and to the annoyance of his son-in-law (for the affair had now gone so far that they were holding me imprisoned together with one other person), he instantly gave orders that his son should be sent for, to whom he then put questions as to where his wife was, and what was her present occupation. The son answered that he did not know. The father commanded that she should be called. The other returned, saying that he could not find her. 'Go away,' said the father; 'make no excuses, but bring her to me.' She came at last, and the viscount said to her: 'You forward thing, what are you about?' She began then to tell her story, but he replied to her: 'Just go, foolish woman, and call away instantly the men who are on the watch, and all the servants whom you have posted about.' Then he descended himself, accompanied by some noblemen, and coming to the spot ordered the door to be opened. I came forth, not at all, it must be confessed, looking like an old man or a priest. I looked at them all, saluted them in the usual form, received the like courtesy from the viscount, made my way out, and so escaped. The one who had sent for me was standing by, and he said to his father-in-law, 'You lordship can see how unlike this man is to what he was imagined to be.'

"The viscount's daughter, however, for whose sake I had been brought into jeopardy, as she had a strong inclination to embrace the Catholic faith, did not cease to receive ill-usage from her relations. They would pluck at her dress and uncover her neck to see whether she might not be wearing relics or crosses or an Agnus Dei. Sometimes, too, they insisted on her eating meat on abstinence days. All these details I have set down for the private reading of

your Reverence,[1] that you may see how many and how various are the accidents growing out of one and the same danger, and how many troubles and anxieties it may involve.

"There was likewise another adventure in London, which should not be passed over in silence. I was walking near the shop of a man whom I knew to be a Catholic, so I stopped a moment and had a word with him, when there came up to me a young man of rank who both at his first greeting, and in his after speech, showed me more reverence than my dress or appearance would seem to demand, for he knew that I was a priest. This was observed by a pursuivant, one of those tormentors of Catholics, who happened to be then in a house on the opposite side of the same street. From the gentleman's extreme civility he guessed that I was something out of the common way, so he descended speedily from his upper chamber resolved to find out whether there were any sign about me of my being a priest, and, if so, to apprehend me. In the middle of the road he recollected his sword, for he noticed that I carried arms. Being afraid to come unprovided, and not knowing what he might require, he went back to look for his sword. This brief space of time was granted me by God for my deliverance. For in the meantime we had made an end of our conversation; the young man, however, remained in his place. I went my way and by chance moved out of the highroad, turning down a small by-street. When the pursuivant had left his house, and had come to where we had been standing, he failed to see me and cried out, 'He has gone off, then, and escaped out of my hands. I knew that he was somebody worth taking.' 'Of whom are you talking,' exclaimed the Catholic young man, 'and whom are you looking for?' The youth knew the pursuivant's face because he had

[1] The Autobiography was written in compliance with the request of the General of the Society.

seen him before, when visiting, for no good purpose, his father's house. The pursuivant inquired, 'Who was that person with whom you were talking? For I know that if he had not been something out of the ordinary run you would never have shown him so much respect in your manner.' The other put the question off, saying, 'Come, you are a little more inquisitive than you need be. Go home, and do not be so full of suspicions;' and then he said good-day.

"I knew also a Catholic married woman who, as she was expecting her confinement, left her own home and resolved to live secretly in company with another Catholic woman to prevent her child from falling into the hands of heretics, and being baptized by them. Having entered the house to visit her, seeing that she was young and with her first child, I spoke of the danger that was usual in her circumstances, and advised her to have recourse to the Sacraments of Confession and Communion, in order to prepare herself for what might prove to her an occasion of death. She listened to my counsel and resolved to follow it without delay. After being fortified, therefore, with these aids, she gave birth to a child without much suffering at the end of a day or two, but through the carelessness of her nurse she fell subsequently into a mortal fever. When the illness was at its height she again demanded the sacraments.

"At length the violence of her malady so gained upon her that it became necessary to administer Extreme Unction. When she had been prepared by this last rite of the Church she exclaimed, not without great joy and exultation of soul, and not merely once or twice, but many times, 'I see my own soul, and its appearance is so beautiful, shining, and pure, that it surpasses the clearest crystal and the heavens themselves in splendour and in grace.' She was likewise favoured with the vision of celestial spirits, and that several times before she gave

up the ghost; at which sight she was so filled with joy and was inflamed with so vehement a desire of enjoying God that she declared how that in her eyes the entire world and its glory seemed to be not only vain and a thing to be despised, but an object of horror, as though it were so much mire, and that instead of fearing death she embraced it with her whole soul and with the ardent desire of her heart in order that she might participate in the pure and glorious fellowship of those heavenly spirits. She did not wish to be restored to the world, but desired to die; and she could say nothing else. She would also speak of the wonderful beauty of the angels whom she was privileged to see. She predicted likewise her certain death, and I think the very moment when it was to take place.

"I think, too, that this must have been about the time when there was a story reported concerning a certain man, despised indeed in the opinion of the world, but in the judgment of God, as we may fairly believe, one of the elect and a vessel of eternal predestination. This man's name was John, and he gained a poor livelihood by rowing his small boat up and down the river Thames. To this John there came one day men whose appearance and dress were, as he thought, those of merchants; in reality, however, they were robbers and spoilers. They expressed a wish to hire his labour and his boat. The man, therefore, glad of the pay and innocent of fraud, agreed upon the price of two crown pieces. They entered the boat and ordered him to row in the direction of a vessel which was there lying at anchor. They took care to observe the time when the ship had no one on board. They unloaded it of its merchandize, transferred the things to the boat and went away, having managed their business secretly and craftily, to their entire satisfaction.

"God, however, who ordered all things to work for the good of His elect, did not suffer the matter to be longer

concealed. The men were detected, arrested, and taken to prison. John also was recognized as having been in company with the others, and as having let them have his boat: he was consequently captured with the rest. The thieves were tried, pleaded guilty, and were condemned to death. John pleaded his innocence, and protested that he had not been a sharer in the crime, but had simply let his boat for hire for the price of two crowns. This statement, nevertheless, was of small service to him, for he was condemned with the criminals.

"After the sentence they were remanded to prison, and within a few days were to undergo their punishment. John meanwhile found the way and manner of a better life, in the very place where he imagined that he would find only death. It was his habit to earn a mouthful of bread by carrying the cups from the cells of the prisoners to a tavern that was kept within the prison to supply the prisoners. He was noticed one day by a priest, who was detained in the same prison. 'Where are you going in such a hurry, John, with your cups?' said this priest to him; 'before many hours are over it will be along another road that you will be hastening.' 'I entreat you,' said the man in reply, 'give me a trifle of money by way of alms.' The priest answered him, 'Of what use will the silver be to you, since before this time to-morrow you are to be led to the scaffold?' The other replied, 'I should have hope of pardon, or at least of a reprieve, if I had a single shilling for what I require. For my wife could bring it about by a petition, provided that she had money to give a lawyer for drawing it up.' 'I see,' responded the priest, 'how little understanding you have of such matters, if you imagine that such a danger as yours can be averted with so slight a trouble. Do not let a vain hope carry you away. I advise you to be thinking rather of your eternal salvation.'

"Then he began to explain to him the necessity of the Catholic faith, and of confession of sins, declaring at the

same time that all those were in error who exchanged the ancient teaching of the Apostles and the Fathers for their private fancies and idle dreams. John eagerly turned his ears and his heart to this discourse; he set his burden upon the ground and said, 'Let us hear further about these things, they please me much.' The priest continued his instruction, while John listened ever more attentively; and when through the help of divine grace he was persuaded, the priest appointed that on the following day, the very one destined for the execution, John should meet him in a certain place and should make his confession; in the meantime he was to make a diligent examination of all the thoughts and actions of his past life. John was not slothful in accomplishing what was imposed upon him, but observed faithfully both time and place, and when everything had succeeded according to the wishes of both, the priest added that he was to take special heed to avoid the churches and profane rites of the heretics, such as sermons and communion, or any other service which they are wont to celebrate contrary to the doctrine and customs of the Catholic Church. John promised honourably to obey these precepts.

"When, therefore, the hour for execution was at hand, the criminals were summoned to attend a sermon and to receive communion before they were led away to death. The other wretched men submitted readily; John alone was not present. He was ordered to appear, but he refused to come. Again and again they sent for him; they tried exhortations, commands, menaces. 'Go away,' he said, 'I have nothing to do with your communion; oftener than enough during my life I have been to it and it has done me no good. You can use force if you please to do so, but to make me go willingly is beyond your power. I do not belong to your religion; give it to those who like it and ask for it. Let me alone now, I will not come.' Seeing his constancy, and that neither threats nor per-

suasions were able to win him, they left him alone and admitted his companions to their heretical rites.

"That concluded, all of them, including John, were conducted to the gallows. The others, as they had lived heretics, so they died. As to John, before the rope was put round his neck he was ordered by an Evangelical minister to beg God's assistance, to stir up his faith and bear witness to it. John replied that he had nothing to do with their faith, albeit, through his great blindness, he had professed it during his whole life, for which he was grieved and of which he heartily repented. He was a Catholic, he said, and wished to die in the Catholic faith, in which alone salvation and eternal life have to be sought for and found; moreover, he was completely innocent of the crime with which he was charged; he had been ignorant of the snare laid for him, and his sole intention in using his boat had been the desire of earning something in that way of life which he had practised from his childhood. 'Now let me alone,' he concluded; 'do not trouble me any more; I am innocent; I die a Catholic; you work in vain if you attempt anything to the contrary.' Many things were said to him by the minister and others; they promised him pardon and life provided that he would change his mind with regard to religion; but they could do nothing with him. With the greatest courage and constancy he bore away the crown both of innocence and of faith, and persevered till he died."

The man of rank, of whom Father Weston speaks in the next anecdote, was John, eighth Lord Stourton, one of the peers who sat in judgment on Mary Queen of Scots. His mother, Anne, daughter of Edward, third Earl of Derby, married secondly Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, commonly called the Great Arundell. Father Cornelius, according to the deposition of William Holmes,[1] who betrayed him in April, 1594, "came unto Sir John Arundell when he lay at

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxlviii. n. 75.

Clerkenwell, and remained there with him by the space of two years. . . . And after that Sir John Arundell removed his house from Clerkenwell to Mowshill, where he remained the space of three years, the said Cornelius and Sherwood continuing with him. And after that the said Sir John Arundell removed unto Thisselworth [Isleworth], where he remained by the space of six or eight weeks, and there died. . . . After the death of the said Sir John Arundell, his lady removed unto Chideock in Dorsetshire, about a fortnight before Christmas, the said priests not coming in her company, but they came unto Chideock some two or three days after, . . . where the said priests remained together well near twelve months, and then William Patenson went unto London, and soon after his return thither . . . was executed." William Patenson was martyred January 22, 159½: Father Cornelius will therefore have gone to Sir John Arundell's in 1586. Before this we have a trace of his whereabouts, at the time when Father Weston used to meet him, in the note of a spy,[1] dated April 23, 1586. "John Cornellis most[ly] accompanying with Mr. Gower, servant to the Lord Montague, and often lodged with the said Gower within his lord's house at St. Mary Overies." Cornellis or Cornellys is more likely to be the true form of the name than the Latinized Cornelius.

The story is well known of the apparition of the soul of Lord Stourton, asking for prayers and Masses. It is given by Bishop Challoner from the narrative of a priest named Manger, who says that the vision was seen at the same time by Patrick Salmon, who was afterwards martyred with Father Cornelius, and was then serving his Mass. Dorothy Arundell, who was present, also wrote an account of this vision, which was sent to Rome.

"I am not quite sure whether the incident that occurred during the Mass said by Father John Cornelius, took place

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxxxviii. n. 37.

at this time or a little later on. It was as follows. A man of high rank had fallen from the profession of his faith, and after persevering in error for a few years not without considerable remorse of conscience, was assailed at last by a deadly disease. When his last hour seemed near he was not ignorant of how much he stood in need of a priest's assistance in order to expiate his sins and receive the Viaticum before he died. Through a faithful servant, therefore, he gave directions that one should be sought out and brought to him. The servant used, though in vain, all the diligence of which he was capable, and with great disappointment he at length returned to his master, without having succeeded in finding a priest. It was certainly a case to be much lamented; for the greatness of the nobleman's sorrow arose from the circumstance that it was the everlasting safety of his soul, more than the life of his body, that stood in jeopardy. He did, nevertheless, all that lay in his power, since he could not do that which he desired. He assembled all his family, and made an open profession of the Catholic religion; he called upon those present to be witnesses for him, in the Day of Judgment, that he repented of his faithlessness and his fall; that he was a Catholic, and as such he wished to die; and that there was no way of saving the soul excepting in that faith. Soon after these words he breathed forth his soul.

"Some days afterwards Father John was celebrating Mass in London, in the house of Sir John Arundell (whose wife was the mother of the nobleman in question), and the dead man appeared to him at the altar entirely surrounded with flames. Father John recognized him by his high bald forehead, which was conspicuous even amidst the flames. The Father asked him wherefore he was in that state, and what he wished for. The apparition mentioned who he was, and in what suffering: he was in hope of salvation; he entreated his prayers and those of all; then he vanished

My memory has failed me if it was not also reported that those who were present at the Holy Sacrifice heard a sound of voices, though low and indistinct, and saw something upon the altar that shone in an unwonted manner. The Father informed them of the vision, and told them to pray earnestly for the soul of the dead man, who was said likewise to have made his confession to his faithful servant when all hope of seeing a priest was quite at an end.

"Once I was requested by a Catholic to accompany him to the house of his father, who was a schismatic. On our way we visited the houses of various Catholics, whom I tried, in my poor way, to assist both with exhortations and the sacraments. After our arrival some days were spent without fruit or advantage, so far as our object was concerned. During this delay I formed an intimate acquaintance with a certain gentleman, whose house was near, and by degrees I obtained his confidence.

"He had been formerly a Catholic, but through the difficulty of the times and of circumstances, and through fear, had fallen away. His bodily powers had begun also to fail him, and he was afraid that his corporal health and the welfare of his soul might both be lost if he were to throw away the opportunity for good afforded him by my presence. He therefore resolved to lay aside all solicitude and idle fear, and to return to the Church and the firm confession of his faith, after imploring the assistance of God and waiting for it with hope. For the sake of this matter I went over and over again to his house, either invited or uninvited, looking out some suitable opportunity of time and place to carry out our business.

"He had a wife, however, who was more inquisitive than was agreeable, and she carefully remarked what he might be doing, and with what persons he spent his time. I imagine, too, that she guessed something of her husband's design, and, being full of fear lest he should risk everything again, himself, his property, and his entire family,

plunging into an open gulf of danger, she kept watch over him, remaining ever by his side, in order to prevent his doing anything she did not like.

"He nevertheless remained inflexible in his purpose; and as he saw that nothing was to be done at his own home through the inopportune and unpleasant perverseness of his wife, he came over to me, under the pretence of visiting my host, who in birth and position was equal to himself, and I received his confession as we were walking about in the garden together. This seemed the best way of avoiding all that suspicion which could not fail to have arisen if there had been a long conversation between us in a private room. This he was most anxious to avoid, particularly as there were so many spies and busy-bodies around, and his was a large family of persons of either sex.

"His confession being, therefore, concluded to the satisfaction of us both, we then turned all our attention and care to the discovery of some plan or device by which he might be enabled to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist. It appeared to us both a difficult undertaking (though he by no means judged that it should be passed by), because neither his own house nor that of my host offered any place suitable for our design. As neither, therefore, proved convenient, we determined to move both of us to the nearest market town, which was not more than a league distant, and there to meet in an inn we named. In consequence, I myself, together with my companion, the son of my host, set out on horseback to the market town, after I had said Mass in my room and deposited the Blessed Sacrament in a pyx that hung round my neck.

"We entered the inn as agreed upon, and chose in it the most suitable room that we could find, one that was large and sufficiently fair. Seeming to be occupied about other affairs, we spent nearly half the day going to and fro between the market-place and the inn, waiting for our friend. When the time was over, as he sent us no message

saying either that he had changed his mind or that he was hindered from coming, I told my companion to prepare himself for receiving Holy Communion. Hardly had he done so when we heard a violent knocking at the door of our room. I inquired who was there; there was no reply. There was another knocking, with equal or even with greater violence than before. My companion was still on his knees, making his thanksgiving. I opened the door, and there beheld an unlucky guest for us, none other than a pursuivant.

"The thought came into my mind, what evil spirit drove you here? for I saw the tokens of his office fastened, as usual, upon his breast. I asked him what he wanted; for I expected nothing better than that he would lay hands upon me and take me prisoner. 'I am looking,' he said, 'for a suitable lodging for the King, and this is the best room in the house.' I wondered to hear him speaking to me of this new King, as the Queen was yet alive, and I asked him what King he meant. He answered me, 'Antonio, the King of Portugal, who has been just driven hither on his way from France, and is from hence going straight on to Court.' He added, indeed, 'But if you like, remain here, and we will appoint another place for him.' I replied, 'We will make way gladly for so distinguished a guest; besides, we shall be leaving the town in a short time, when our business is over.' The man then wrote the King's name upon the door of the room, and went his way.

"In the meanwhile a messenger came to us from our expected companion, bringing us word of the reason why he had failed to make his appearance at the appointed time and place. He had been so weakened by an attack of bleeding at the nose that he was compelled to remain at home. He entreated us, however, to be present at the same market the ensuing week, and said that he would certainly join us unless Providence hindered the journey.

The seven days passed away, and we all met at the same place, where we performed quickly what was necessary to be done, and then departed home."

Don Antonio was the natural son of Don Louis, brother of the Cardinal Henry, King of Portugal, and he was supported as a claimant to the throne by Elizabeth, out of a wish to embarrass King Philip of Spain. In June, 1581, Don Antonio came to England for the first time, Walsingham writing to Burghley,[1] June 29: "The new guest, Don Antonio, arrived last night at Stepney, and, for lack of apparel, he will not demand audience these two days." He was in the country three months; a letter of the 28th of September[2] saying that "Don Antonio is still at Dover, detained by contrary winds."

The following paper shows that the date of Don Antonio's second landing, when his royal title startled Father Weston, was September, 1585. Elizabeth agreed at last to assist him by an armed force, and the ill-fated expedition of one hundred and eighty-seven ships, under Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norreys, left Plymouth, April 18, 1589. Of twenty-one thousand men, eleven thousand were lost; and of eleven hundred gentlemen, about seven hundred and fifty. Don Antonio went to France in November, 1593, and died at Paris, August 26, 1595.

The examination[3] of one of Don Antonio's priests is curious, as showing how sharply they were looked after, and that Mass, even in the French Ambassador's house, was stopped as soon as the news reached England of the death of Henri III.

"The examination of John Gondsalvus de Lima, taken before me, Richard Younge, the 10th day of February, in the thirty-second year of the Queen's Majesty's reign [$15\frac{89}{90}$].

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxlix. n. 53. [2] *Ibid.* vol. cl. n. 15.
[3] *Ibid. Addenda*, vol. xxxi. n. 121.

"The said examinate saith that he was born at Lishborne [Lisbon], where his mother yet liveth, and his parents were Portugalles [Portuguese], and he himself was made priest at Lishborne, and came into England out of France with the King, at September was five years, and hath ever since continued with the King as his chaplain. And he saith further that here are three friars attendant on the King, viz., Friar Diego or James, a Franciscan, Friar Joseph, a Dominican, and Friar Lewis, of the Order of the Trinity, who have been with him ever sithence his coming into England.

"*Item*,—He saith that he was in Flanders and Germany with the King's son, being commanded by the King to attend upon him, and stayed there six months, and being demanded whether he gave not the King's son counsel and admonition that he should not eat eggs or flesh on the Fridays, as the Earl of Leicester and others there did, he saith that it may be he did so, and thinketh he did not evil therein, for that he is a Portugall and a Catholic, and he hath persuaded the King's son to continue in the Catholic religion, for that his father is a Catholic King, and this examinate is a Catholic priest, and herein he thinketh he did but his duty.

"*Item*,—He saith that he did not cause any man to be punished in the Low Countries for his conscience or for eating of flesh at his being there, and he denieth that he would have gone to King Philip from the King Antonio, for that he is banished and dare not come thither.

"*Item*,—He saith that he knoweth Robin, the King's Treasurer's boy, but denieth by his priesthood that he ever confessed him or any other Englishman, for that (as he saith) the English Catholics will not trust him, that he is not King Philip's friend, and his King hath commanded upon pain of death that he shall not meddle with the Queen's subjects.

"*Item*,—He saith that he used daily to say Mass before

the King, and the friars used to say Mass to the household, but since the King his last coming from Portugal he hath not said Mass, for that the King wanteth furniture, having left all at Penecha,[1] and when he used to say Mass the King would not suffer any Englishmen to come thither. And this examinate hath also said Mass at the French Ambassador's house seven or eight times, and in none other place or places since his coming with the King into England.

"*Item*,—He saith that since his coming out of Portugal, viz., in August last past, on the Saturday next after the Assumption of our Lady, he said Mass at the French Ambassador's house, he being then in France, but his secretary and the rest of the household were present at it, and on the Sunday following, the King's death being known,[2] commandment came from the Council that they should have no Mass there, and since that time this examinate did never say Mass either there or elsewhere, and at that time there was no Englishman there to his knowledge, and he thought he might lawfully say Mass there, for that the Ambassador had liberty and licence in his own house."

England, in its war against the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, regarded no details as too small for its attention. Even hosts or altar-breads were carefully looked after amongst "Church stuff;" and they often are mentioned in the lists of things seized, under their old name of "singing cakes." The English Ambassador in Spain in King James' time thought the subject worthy of mention in a despatch to his Government. Sir Charles Cornwallis wrote,[3] May 28, 1609, "One Peter Lester, an apothecary, a man of the age of thirty-five or forty years, dwelling near

[1] Penecha was the landing-place of the expedition under Sir Francis Drake, thirty miles from Lisbon. Birch's *Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 59.

[2] Henri III. was assassinated August 1 (July 22), 1589.

[3] P.R.O., *Foreign, Spain;* Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 48.

Fleet Bridge, makes the 'hostyes' for the Jesuits and Massing priests that are in England. His irons that he useth for that purpose he keeps in a barrel or vessel of beer in his cellar in a corner on the right hand of the said cellar, there being in the said vessel a secret partition wherein he puts them." So Thomas Freeman of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, "Massing priest," being examined at Bedford, April 19, 1585, "where he had the Popish singing cakes which he had about him, confessed that he had them of his brother John Freeman," a linendraper in London. Father Weston proceeds to tell a very good story in which "singing cakes" are concerned.

"During this journey there happened to us a case of danger by no means contemptible. It occurred sometimes in the houses of Catholics that there were not hosts for consecration, and that so a great fruit of our labour was lost, as we could neither say Mass nor give Holy Communion. To prevent this inconvenience I thought it would be well to purchase some altar-breads and carry them with me. As I had no proper place to put them in, my companion arranged them and folded them within a fine linen handkerchief which belonged to him, and with sufficient security, as he thought. It came to pass, however, that from the constant movement in riding on horseback, the hosts found their way out, and by degrees, first three or four, then a larger number, fell down and lay in the public road, and that along almost half a mile. We did not perceive our misfortune until we came into the open country fields out of the narrow road, for the way hitherto had lain between two high inclosures on either side. At last the wind blew strongly and carried the particles into the air and scattered them all around. Then we perceived what had happened and the peril that it brought with it. We had not much leisure for thought. We did however the best we could, though not without grave risk. My horse being the quickest, I went back to

the furthest point at which they had begun to fall, and set to work to gather them up, while my companion did the same for those which lay at intervals here and there further on. We were not slow in finishing our work. If they had been suffered to lie there within sight of all passers-by, it would have brought endless trouble upon the Catholics of the neighbourhood, and we ourselves should have been hunted down with the intensest zeal. The hazard appeared all the greater, because the hosts had fallen not in lonely or uncultivated paths but in an inhabited country and amongst cottages scattered up and down for the convenience of the owners' occupations. Twenty or more had fallen in a heap just outside the door of a house which belonged to the minister of the village as I afterwards learned. It was an advantage to us that the accident took place in harvest time, during which season the men are mostly in the fields instead of being in their houses."

CHAPTER X.

ARREST.

"AFTER the lapse of some days, when I had returned from my journey, the news was brought me that two of our fathers had arrived in London. The tidings pleased me greatly; and although these times of persecution were most terrible, during which many were delivered up to death, houses were laid waste, and Catholics were filling the prisons in every quarter of the kingdom, still it was no small consolation to me to find faithful and brave sharers of my perils in the midst of so many adversities. So I prevented all delay and hastened to the inn to pay them a visit.

"They were Father Henry Garnet and Father Robert Southwell"—who left Rome together, May 8th, and landed in England, July 7, 1586. "We saluted and embraced each other and in that same place we dined together. On the following day (as there was no safe place in London either in the way of inns or private houses) we left the city and travelled nearly ten leagues till we came to the house of a Catholic gentleman and an intimate friend of mine. To him our appearance was a pleasure so great and desired (as the event proved) that it was not possible for us to wish or dream of any reception more loving or even devout. In former times he had been devoted to the Court and to courtiers, as chamberlain, if I am not mistaken, to the Earl of Leicester who was then in full power. At all events he was one of his special favourites singularly high in his estimation; but he grew tired of

that life even when still young, and having some idea of Catholic truth and knowing how contrary such worldliness and moral corruption must be to the sincerity and purity of life commanded by the Faith, he made up his mind to break from it all, and forsake the Court and look out for some place and manner of life more remote from that secular splendour and less obnoxious to the temptations of sin. Although he did not doubt that his resolution would be unwelcome to the Earl, with the secrets of whose dark and mysterious life he was considerably acquainted, it was yet essential to him to prefer the interests of his soul at the risk of temporal perils; and he judged it better to be bold at once and make a breach with him, rather than by a system of delay to continue in a state of life that brought great spiritual injury with it and might perhaps entail on him irremediable ruin. He therefore chose for himself a country house quite separated from the tumults of the city, and settled there with his wife, children, and servants, keeping it nevertheless always open to priests and Catholics who might pass that way.

"This change gave vehement offence (as was natural, considering his own life) to the Earl of Leicester. Offence even is not a sufficient word; he became absolutely hostile and hateful, and thought that it could not be passed over any more than if it had been a crime, but must be avenged. Nor did the vengeance fail in its coming, for a short time afterwards, in the very same year in which the plot against the life of the Queen of Scots was carried out, the offender's house was overthrown, he himself with his wife and part of his family was brought to London and imprisoned in the Marshalsea, and death would have certainly been decreed against him unless the sudden decease of the Earl, occasioned, as it was said, through poison administered to him by his wife, had removed that enemy. After he was gone"—Leicester

died September 4, 1588—"the fervour of the persecution against him relaxed, and our friend was released from prison. The rest of his life he spent partly in Ireland, far away from his country and his friends."

There cannot be much doubt that this house was Mr. Bold's, in Berkshire, where these three illustrious Jesuit Fathers celebrated with such devout solemnity their meeting on English soil. Anthony Tyrrell wrote to Lord Burghley on the 30th of August, 1586, "As concerning Bold of Lancashire, Edmonds the Jesuit and I, about two months past, did ride with him from London into Berkshire to his house that was burnt, where Edmonds preached. At the sermon was himself, his wife, one other gentleman and his wife that dwelleth in Hertfordshire: whether he were his brother or no, I know not: his name I have forgotten. Edmonds persuaded him to be reconciled. He answered that he was so intricated on my Lord of Leicester's dealings, that as yet he possibly could not. He would presently [go] over again and give my lord a *quietus est*, and peradventure a worse term. He spake of my lord very loudly."[1]

The next day Tyrrell wrote to Burghley again, in answer to "Articles,"[2] that is, questions suggested by the former confession, and then he repeats more minutely his story of the visit to Mr. Bold's house. "Of my journey to Mr. Bold's of Lancashire with Father Edmonds, thus it was. Mr. Edmund Peckham, late[ly] deceased, brought me acquainted with Mr. Bold, and Father Edmonds and I came to his chamber by St. Clement's, at the house which sometime was Dr. Burkett's, now kept by one Mrs. Bright. From thence we went with him to St. Giles', and then took horse and did ride down with him into Berkshire, to a house of his that was burnt. There we remained two or three days, Father Edmonds and I each day saying Mass; none at it but Mrs. Bold and a young gentlewoman. After

[1] P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xix. n. 67. [2] *Ibid.* n. 68.

dinner Father Edmonds preached before Mr. Bold, his wife, one other gentleman, and his wife of Hertfordshire; and after, Father Edmonds vehemently persuaded Mr. Bold to be reconciled to the Church. He protested that with all his heart he desired it, but he was so entangled in my Lord of Leicester's affairs that as yet possibly he could not. He said he would make all the speed he could to be gone again, and then he would remove himself out of Leicester's fetters, repeated that he hated him from his heart, and that most of his friends ere it were long would forsake him, and pity it were that ever he should come back again; and many other hard speeches he gave out of the Earl which I forbear here to utter. His conclusion was that he would play him a slippert trick ere it were long."

No wonder, after this, that Mr. Bold and his family were sent to prison and hardly used. The system of espionage and secret accusation that then prevailed, rendered it impossible for any man to know the real reasons of his imprisonment or persecution.

There was one John Bolt, who was apprehended in March, 1593, who had "lived for two or three years at Court, being in great request for his voice and skill in music." With the recklessness in spelling that prevailed in those times, we cannot be sure that Bolt and Bold are different names, and it may be that he was a member of the family in Berkshire that had so great a taste for music. If this was so, and as according to the good nun who wrote the Chronicles of St. Monica's, "the Queen having heard of his departure, fell out with the master of music, and would have flung her pantoufle at his head for looking no better unto him,"[1] we may well suppose that he was a friend of Byrd the composer, who was a "Gentleman of her Majesty's Chapel."

William Byrd also gave up his office, but he returned

[1] *Troubles*, First Series, p. 297.

to it as soon as ever Elizabeth was dead, for he was certainly one of the "Gentlemen of the Chapel" at the coronation of James I.

This well known musician was born in 1538, and was educated in the music school of St. Paul's Cathedral, his master being the celebrated Thomas Tallis. In 1554, Byrd was senior chorister of St. Paul's. He was appointed organist of Lincoln in 1563, and in 1570 he was sworn Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in the place of Robert Parsons, who was drowned at Newark. Tallis and Byrd had a patent from Queen Elizabeth for the exclusive privilege of printing music and selling music paper.[1]

His musical works are enumerated by Dr. Rimbault, who adds, "Of his compositions extant in MS., the greater number are for the Virginals," and he considers that the chief part of Byrd's ecclesiastical compositions being composed to Latin words betokens his Roman predilections.

In a list[2] of "places where certain recusants remain in and about London," we have "William Byrd of the Chapel, at his house in the parish of Harlington in the county of Middlesex." In another State Paper[3] he is called a friend and abettor of those beyond the sea, and is described as "Mr. Byrd, at Mr. Lester his house, over against St. Dunstan's, or at the Lord Paget's house at Drayton. The messenger [evidently the bearer of an intercepted letter] is to tell him things which he will well like." About the time of Father Weston's arrest, we find "Mr. Byrd's house at Harmansworth or Craneford" in a list[4] of houses to be searched, August 21, 1586.

In "an inventory[5] of the books and other Popish

[1] These details are taken from the *Old Cheque Book, or Book of Remembrance of the Chapel Royal from* 1561 *to* 1744. Edited for the Camden Society by Edw. F. Rimbault, LL.D. 1872.

[2] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cli. n. 11.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. cxlvi. n. 137.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. cxcii. n. 48.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. clxvii. n. 47.

relics found in Mr. Hampden's house of Stocke in the county of Bucks," January 26, 158¾, there is "an old printed song-book, which was sent unto Carleton, as appeared by a letter sent therewithal, and one other letter sent unto Mr. Fytton from one Mr. Byrd of the Queen's Majesty's Chapel."

The brother of William Byrd was a Catholic likewise, and acquainted with some fervent English Catholics. When Benjamin Tichborne was let out of prison on the condition that he would act as a spy on his fellow-Catholics, his first letter[1] to Lord Keeper Puckering, dated May 28, 1594, reported "meeting with one Byrd, brother to Byrd of the Chapel. I understand that Mrs. Tregian, Mrs. Charnock, and Mrs. Sybil Tregian, will be here at the Court [at Greenwich] to-day."

The whole family were good Catholics, and we learn that in 1605 they were suffering the temporal disabilities entailed in the statement that "they have been excommunicated these seven years." This is taken from the Proceedings in the Court of Archdeaconry of Essex, May 11, 1605, published by Dr. Rimbault from Hale's *Precedents in Criminal Causes.* As we often hear of presentments of recusants by the minister and churchwardens, but have not many opportunities of seeing their vexatious and inquisitorial character, we may give the entry.

"[Parish of] Standen Massie. [*Contra*] *Willielmum Byrd et Elenam ejus uxorem. Præsentantur* for Popish recusants. He is a gentleman of [the] King's Majesty's Chapel, and as the minister and churchwardens do hear, the said William Byrd, with the assistance of one Gabriel Colford, who is now at Antwerp, hath been the chief and principal seducer of John Wright, son and heir of John Wright of Kelvedon, in Essex, gentleman, and of Anne Wright, the daughter of the said John Wright the elder; and the said Ellen Byrd, as it is reported, and as her

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth,* vol. ccxlviii. n. 118.

servants have confessed, hath appointed business on the Sabbath days for her servants, of purpose to keep them from church; and hath also done her best endeavour to seduce Thoda Pigbone, her now maid-servant, to draw her to Popery, as the maid hath confessed; and besides, hath drawn her maid-servants from time to time these seven years from coming to church; and the said Ellen refuseth conference; and the minister and churchwardens have not as yet spoke with the said William Byrd, because he is from home," &c.

The last notice of Byrd in the *Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal* is that of his death, when he was about eighty-five years old. "1623. William Byrd, a Father of Music, died the 4th of July."

To Father Southwell and to Father Garnet, as we can well conceive, the music in Bold's house must have been delightful. Southwell had the soul of a poet, and Garnet had a great taste for Church ceremonies and a special devotion to singing Mass. Two extracts from his letters we must give to show it, to see in what difficult circumstances he thus refreshed his spirit.

To Sister Elizabeth Shirley at Louvain he wrote[1] on Midsummer day, 1605: "Besides the general affliction, we find ourselves now betrayed in both our places of abode and are forced to wander up and down, until we can get a fit place. Yet we impute to the great providence of God that our persons have escaped through your prayers and others. We kept Corpus Christi day with great solemnity and music, and the day of the Octave made a solemn procession about a great garden, the house being watched, which we knew not till the next day, when we departed twenty-five in the sight of all in several companies, leaving half a dozen servants behind, and all is well—*et evasimus manus eorum in nomine Domini.*"

And to Father Strange,[2] June 30, 1601, he wrote:

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 578. [2] *Ibid.*, *P.* fol. 553.

"This last week there was the cruellest search at London in the night that ever was, and some days before and after the Court was guarded, and the gates of London, and rumours spread abroad that the Jesuits and the King of Scots went about to kill the Queen. One justice said that for his part he had searched four hundred houses. . . . Notwithstanding all our troubles we sing Mass."

"When we reached this gentleman's house," Father Weston says, "we were received by him with every manifestation, as I said before, of the greatest charity and friendly feeling. We found there also some gentlewomen, who had come thither for the sake of concealment. We spent a whole week there, to the incredible joy of all, in the midst of the liveliest tokens of welcome; for that place was the most suitable in the world for our business and intentions, not merely because of the loneliness of the mansion and the position of honour held both by it and the persons who inhabit it, but besides, because they had a chapel for the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, an organ likewise and other musical instruments, and, moreover, singers of both sexes belonging to the family, the master of the house being singularly experienced in the art. Thus during the course of those days we celebrated, as it were, a long octave of some magnificent festival.

"We met there also Mr. Byrd, the most celebrated musician and organist of the English nation, who had been formerly in the Queen's Chapel, and held in the highest estimation; but for his religion he sacrificed everything, both his office and the Court and all those hopes which are nurtured by such persons as pretend to similar places in the dwellings of princes, as steps towards the increasing of their fortune.

"Mass was sometimes sung by Father Garnet. We preached also in our turns, and heard many confessions, and devoted the first half of the day almost entirely to these occupations. We had, too, present amongst us the

domestic pastor of this distinguished and holy family, and one not unworthy of it, for a brief time afterwards he ended his life as a most illustrious martyr of Christ. In the afternoon we were employed in other affairs and in various consultations, as to what kind of instructions the new-comers had brought from Rome from our Father General, as to what was the condition of affairs in England so far as I could explain it to them, in fine, as to how we were to conduct ourselves in future, and what were our common prospects.

"When the time had been passed in arranging these matters according to our ability, I gave them information of the Catholic houses to which they might betake themselves and where they might remain, and I appointed faithful men to conduct them thither. I myself set out for Oxford without loss of time. Urgent necessity sent me there for the welfare of a family which was somewhat in confusion and stood in need of advice and assistance. Having accomplished that matter, I turned towards London and began my journey. About half way I rested one night in the house of a Catholic [Mr. Francis Browne of Henley Park], a good man and well known to me, together with all his family; and as his house was exactly fitted for the carrying out of a design which had been previously in my mind and thoughts, namely, of withdrawing myself for a few days from the affairs and the intercourse of men, I resolved to give myself up to prayer and the refreshment of my spirit, which was almost worn out after so many occupations and worldly cares; the management of which I could now intrust for the time to those two Fathers.

"I determined consequently not to lose the opportunity of making my retreat, as I found myself in so convenient a house. It was very solitary in its position, in the midst of rabbit-warrens and surrounded by a deer-park, and the whole place was delightful through the vicinity of pleasant

woods and meadows. God, however, had destined for me, not this lovely and joyous place of rest, but another retreat, much better for prayer and for spiritual exercises of every kind, and where I had to stay longer, among wild animals it is true, but of a different description.

"It happened in this wise. On the second or third day after I had arrived at that house [Henley Park], two Catholic gentlemen came to me to tell me that it was necessary for me to set out for London, that certain persons and affairs were waiting for me there, though they themselves could not through ignorance explain the matter, but they told me of a house where I should be informed of all, both persons and things. On the next day I set out, fully hoping and intending to return quickly to my present abode. Those two men accompanied me. They were gentlemen and firm Catholics, well known to myself and to all, as being upright and honourable men. I have said so much to prevent any one from suspecting wrongfully that it was through fraud or insincerity on their part that suffering came upon me.

"On reaching London I bade them farewell, and went to the house without delay, where I was to be informed about those who were seeking me. On the way I frequently turned my eyes to observe whether any one was following me, from whose presence suspicion might arise of some impending danger. As I drew near the house I saw a man running along, but wearing no sword or other weapon, so that no evil opinion of him arose in my mind. When I knocked at the door, however, and stopped for a moment that it might be opened, he turned towards me, put his hand on me, and said; 'I arrest you in the Queen's name.' I answered him, 'You had better take care lest you make some mistake; perhaps I am not the man whom you are seeking.' 'There is no mistake,' said he, 'you are the man I want; you are Edmonds, priest and Jesuit.' I answered him, 'In that you are not far wrong:

but by whose authority do you arrest me? show me your warrant if you can; if not, I am not to be taken prisoner.' Immediately he put his hand into his breast, and drew from thence a paper containing the names of many Catholics who were to be, as I imagine, arrested: but as my name was not among them, I exclaimed: 'This list, besides being of no authority, does not contain my name; if you have nothing better to produce than this I will not yield, but stand upon my right.'

"Whilst we were there thus disputing, there passed along the road a butcher driving two oxen before him to the slaughter-house, as it seemed. The street was close by the city, but there were only a few houses or habitations. When he saw us striving with each other and had understood how the matter lay, he ordered me to obey the command, otherwise he would knock me down with the staff he carried on his shoulder. While all this was going on, an old woman came forth from the house to open the door for the person who had knocked. She saw me led away, and was the sole witness of what had taken place. Later on she was obliged to appear for examination, as was also the master of the house in like manner. However, they suffered no harm on that occasion, as I understood, whereas, if they had received me within their house, it would have been very different. It was my frequent prayer to God, that when it was needful for me to fall into the hands of the enemy, no harm or injury might be brought thereby to other persons.

"When they had taken me in this manner, they did not place me at once in the common prison, but shut me up in a private house opposite the prison, giving me a keeper and taking me into an inner part of the house, shut in by several doors. They held me a close prisoner, giving out to the world that I was a Puritan. Here I continued several weeks without being examined, or having any crime laid to my charge."

Of this apprehension we know more than Father Weston can tell us. Unfortunately for him he reached London when Walsingham had made up his mind that it was time to explode the Babington plot and arrest the conspirators. Francis Mills, his secretary, in reporting to him the progress making in that matter,[1] gives him information of Father Weston's capture. The letter was written on the 3rd of August, 1586.

"It may please your honour, by the inclosed which I received from Berd[en] yesterday, a little before supper, you may see how the apprehension of Bal[lard] receiveth still delays, and this may happen to prove hereabout no better than yesterday. Besides Phelippes telleth me yesternight that Bab[ington], from whom he thought to have by a certain means received a letter, is contrary to his expectation slipped out of the city into the country. How this gentleman's departure may import the present apprehension it may be of Bal., or require the delay of his apprehension, your honour best knoweth, and accordingly may it please you to give your direction to me. Phelippes thinketh it good Bal. be taken as soon as may be, though Bab. be as you see departed the city; and so my meaning is to do, unless you command otherwise.

"I understand by the messengers that attend me, that one Davies,[2] lately made priest here in England by some such as hath power from the Pope, apprehended by them and committed to the Counter where he lay a good while, is lately by the Town Clerk of this city upon some bail set at liberty as an ordinary recusant; whether your honour have heard it I know not; but these men that take such pains to find out these miscreants are discouraged

[1] P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xix. n. 4.

[2] This is the priest of whom mention has been made more than once. *Supra*, p. 60. When or by whom he was ordained priest is not known.

much to see many of them receive so much favour and liberty as they do. They say also Mr. Young also is gentle enough towards these men, for all his outward show of forwardness, &c.

"Being come thus far in my letter of this morning at eight of the clock, Berd. bringeth me word from Phelippes that Bab. is still in the city, and with divers others like himself betaken to a new lodging without Bishopsgate, where all this day watch hath been laid in the best and secretest manner might be, in hope that Bal. is among them: but hitherto we cannot understand that Bal. is in this new lodging. Bab., Donne, Skyrres [?], and some others both men and women of this crew I have discovered this day with my own eyes, and therefore seeing Bab. is not departed, I hope for the better success of this service.

"I hold it not good to attempt the entry and search of any house for Bal. unless we were perfectly assured he were within it, which yet neither Berd. nor any other can assure me. For if they could, I would make small doubt of his apprehension. Otherwise upon uncertainty to enter and search doth scare and mar the whole matter. We endeavour therefore to take him in passing out or in.

"Whether your honour's pleasure be, if need be or occasion so offered, that myself or Phelippes being your own servants shall take Bal., and so you appear to have laid the plot for his apprehension, I know not expressly: but if the opportunity be offered, it shall not be omitted, although it be besides your express direction.[1]

"One thing this afternoon, about five of the clock is fallen out besides our expectation. Berd. and Sheppard,

[1] It seems that it did not suit Walsingham that it should be known that he had "laid the plot" for Ballard's apprehension. On the following day, August 4, Mills wrote to him: "Between eleven and twelve of the clock this day was Bal. taken by virtue of my Lord Admiral's warrant (as I think and as I appointed), and so is, according to the tenour of the warrant, fast in the Counter in Wood Street. The matter so handled in every circumstance as neither you nor any of yours did or need to be known in the matter." P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xix. n. 14.

the keeper of the Clink, being together here about Bishopsgate espied Edmonds the Jesuit, and he was presently apprehended by Sheppard alone (Berd. not any way appearing in the matter), his weapon taken from him, and he carried to the Clink, where he is to be kept in such sort as he may neither escape nor any friend of his know what has become of him until your direction touching him may be known. And if he be so notable a person as is supposed, it were not amiss he were conveyed closely and so clapt awhile in the Tower. That I mislike and doubt in Edmonds' apprehension is that being missed now peradventure by Bal. and his company (for he no doubt was going to them), it will disperse them. The letter of Berd. mentioned above, I left at home when in the morning I came hastily out of mine own house to take this standing I am now in. But this letter importeth no great thing. Thus I humbly cease to trouble your honour. From without Bishopsgate, this Wednesday evening.

"Your honour's most bounden and humble
servant always at commandment,

"FRA. MYLLES."

"To the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, knight, her Majesty's principal Secretary.'"

Endorsed—"August, 1586. From Fra. Milles."

CHAPTER XI.

GOVERNMENT INFORMATION.

FATHER WESTON'S apprehension was accidental, as it happened, but the spies had long been on his track, and he could hardly have escaped much longer. A very few days before his arrest, Walsingham had received this "Secret Advertisement"[1] from a spy who does not sign the paper. It is dated July 21, 1586. "I have many times given notice of the place where the Jesuit hath resorted at the time of his being there, but no great account hath been made thereof. If I did know it to be your honour's pleasure, I would apprehend both him and divers others with my own hands. And when some priests have been by my directions apprehended, it hath been so handled contrary to my direction as I hardly escaped without being discovered to the author thereof. Henley Park [Mr. Francis Browne's house] is never without three or four priests, and the Jesuit is there at this present, but never searched that I can hear of, though I have often required it when there hath been a certain number there." The writer, who was thoroughly well informed, and therefore was quite unsuspected by the Catholics with whom he was mingling only to betray them, was either Nicholas Berden or Robert Poley, names that occur frequently at this time in the course of Walsingham's plot against the Queen of Scots, in which they were active instruments.

This was by no means the first of the "Secret Advertisements" that Walsingham received respecting

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxci. n. 23.

Father Weston. The following are interesting as showing the work done in return for Walsingham's secret service money, and there is much valuable information[1] to be derived from them for the purpose of our biography. The first[2] is endorsed March, 1585. The "Lady Paulett" mentioned in it was by birth a Blount, widow of Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College, Oxford, and stepmother of Sir Amias Poulet, keeper of the Queen of Scots.[3]

Cornelius and Loe, or Lowe, were afterwards martyrs. Wingfield was the same person as Davies, whose subsequent liberation Mills lamented, as we have just seen. George Blackwell was made archpriest in 1598.

"May it please your honour to be advertised that Edmonds the Jesuit, *alias* Hunte, did dine with me according to his promise upon Saturday last, who so abiding as I perceive hath been in Spain these ten or twelve years past. His coming into England was about Midsummer last, sithence which time he hath most frequented the younger sort of the gentlemen of the Inns of Court, like unto whom he goeth apparelled. I find that he hath persuaded many of them to his opinion in religion. He useth much to preach at the Lady Paulett's, who is lodged near Temple Bar, at Mrs. Lovelesse in the Blackfriars, and at one Richard Beedell his chamber, which is at one Mr. Smyth's house in the upper end of Holborn, unto which place divers young gentlemen do resort, as namely young Suthwycke and Claxton of Gray's

[1] These spies' reports have to be read with caution. For instance, at the time when Father Edmonds was safe in prison, we have from St. Omers, Sept. 26, 1586, "One of the English here reports that there are two hundred Masses daily in London and the suburbs. Those he wrote of before were two Jesuits, who passed from Boulogne to Hyde; one Father Edmonds and the other a young man." Calendar, *Domestic, Addenda, Elizabeth*, vol. xxix n. 143.

[2] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxxvii. n. 48.

[3] *Letter-Books of Sir Amias Poulet*, p. 374.

Inn, and fifteen or sixteen others whose names I know not as yet. I required of the said Jesuit to know his lodging, but he refused to let me know the same. Yet, nevertheless, he referred me to one Ingram, a gentleman and a student at the law, who is lodged at Taylor's house in Holborn, near Barnard's Inn, who should direct me unto him at all times. And he further promised me that he will come to my lodging once or twice in the week, so as I do provide all necessary stuff for him to say Mass, which I have promised him to do if by any means I may procure the same. More in particular I cannot gather of him by reason of my small acquaintance, but that by way of discourse he seemeth to be persuaded that the King of Scots shall marry with the King of Spain his daughter, whereupon he doth infer that the country of Scotland will become Papists, and for the King's affection to Papistry he standeth nothing doubtful, the rather for the great credit that Holt, the English Jesuit, and some other of the seminaries, have about the King there and some of his Council, as he supposeth. This was the sum of our first and last conference.

"The names of certain priests with such places as they resort unto.

"To Mr. Darrell, who is lodged at Doctor Johnson's in Fleet Street, resorteth one Martyne a priest.

"To Sir John Arundell resorteth one Tompson and Cornelius, priests. Cornelius is commonly lodged there.

"To the Lady Paulett's, by Temple Bar, resorteth one Twyfford and Stone, priests.

"To Mr. Treamayne, at Clerkenwell, resorteth one Loe, priest.

"To Richard Beedell his chamber at Mr. Smyth's in Holborn, one Holland, priest, who is a great preacher.

"By Revell his man I have found that Blackwell, of whom I have made mention heretofore, is and hath been lodged at Mrs. Meany's, who now lieth at Westminster

these seven or eight years together. [*In marg.* This Mrs. Meany's daughter was married to Sir Thomas Gerard's son and heir.]

"There resorteth to Mr. William Fytton[1] his house at Bailes, Transome the younger, and one Wynckffeld, priests, with divers others whose names I cannot yet learn.

"There resorteth to Mr. Brookesbye of Leicestershire, one Nicholas Eake, a priest, but his abiding is now in Holborn and Islington.

"Edmonds the Jesuit, Holland, Cornelius, and Transome are the chiefest preachers.

"There are also divers other priests here in London whose names and places I hope shortly to advertise your honour of.

"There is at this moment one Sutton, a Jesuit, remaining at Verdun, in France, [with] Chambers, which Chambers is the General of the Englishmen there. The said Jesuit doth attend a passage to come into England.

"Also the Papists do expect forty or fifty priests from Rome and Rheims to arrive here in England, which news Dr. Allen's man did bring unto them, and with their coming I hope to be made acquainted. Thus, according to my duty, I have advertised your honour of the premises, and for my farther service and duty to be done, I rest both night and day at your honourable commandment, as also to pray God to maintain your honour with much prosperity."

"May[2] it please your honour to be advertised that it is concluded and agreed among the Papists that such priests as are determined to remain in England, or hereafter shall come into England, shall be relieved at the hands of Mr. Henry Vaux, son to the Lord Vaux, or by his assigns. This Henry Vaux, in company of Edmonds the Jesuit, Floyd, Jatter, Cornellys, Stampe, *alias* Dyghton

[1] *Supra*, p. 60. [2] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxxviii. n. 39.

and Holland, priests, did lately assemble themselves at the house of Mr. Wylford in Hoggesdon, where it was ordered the Lord Vaux should pay to the relief of priests that would tarry, one hundred marks. Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir William Catesby, and Mr. Wylford one hundred marks the piece, and certain other gentlemen they [as]sessed at lower sums. All this money is presently to be delivered to Mr. Vaux before the forty days, to avoid the danger of the statute, and letters also directed into the country abroad for the said collection, and the money to be delivered to Mr. Vaux, and he to take notice of all priests that shall remain or come into England, and in secret by his servant Harris (as is thought) to relieve them where they shall be heard of. It is ordered that the priests shall shift for themselves abroad, as in inns or such like places, and not visit any Papists, especially of the gentlemen, except they be sent for, for this summer season, within which time they hope either by help or entreaty of foreign princes,[1] or by some general petition to be made to her Majesty by a great number of them together to be assembled, to be holpen by some toleration; if not, then to adventure the danger of the statute. So with my most humble duty to your honour, I rest to certify hereafter what they shall further determine.

"London, this 2nd day of May, anno 1585."

In the next letter[2] we have mention of Cornelius, Dean, Garlick, and Pilcher, all martyrs. We also learn the curious fact that Morgan was to have had the appointment of those of Queen Elizabeth's household who were to have been sent to serve the Queen of Scots. Walsingham can hardly have appreciated the sharpness of his spy, who had perceived of another spy, who had been recommended

1 "The hope which the Papists have to receive comfort by the Duke of Guise and his confederates, is not little." *In marg.*

2 P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxxxviii. n. 37.

by Morgan, that he was "a great keeper of company with the priests and Papists, *and yet* most conversant and familiar" in Walsingham's own chamber.

"May it please your honour to be advertised that there is one Peter Wylkox, one of the purveyors of her Majesty's buttery, whose first coming to her Majesty's [service was to be sent on] service to the Scottish Queen by the appointment of Thomas Morgan, for it was then expected that the Scottish Queen should have had certain of her Majesty's officers to have waited upon her, whereof this Wylkox should have intended himself for one, but now his expectation having been long frustrate, he will seem to be weary of his office and to rid himself of the same for money, and so to pass on. This man hath been and is a great keeper of company with the priests and Papists, and yet most conversant and familiar in your honour's chamber.

"Sithence my return I do find these priests hereunder to make their abode in London, viz., Edmonds the Jesuit, commonly frequenting the house of the late widow Tempest, now wife to Mr. Francis Browne.

"John Cornellis, most accompanying with Mr. Gower, servant to the Lord Montague, and often lodged with the said Gower within his lord's house at St. Mary Overies.

"Willson, *alias* Gaunte, lodged in the house of the Countess of Pembroke, and confessor to the Lord Compton in Broad Street. This Willson is the only man that collecteth for the Seminary. He hath a convey for [the money], but by whom I cannot yet learn. Ely Jones in Compton's house.

"Fortescue, *alias* Ballard, and Dryland, much conv[ersant] with the Lord Windsor.

"More, Wedall, *alias* Ithell, Doctor Stafferton, *alias* Williamson, Brome, Grene, Lawyer.

"Deane, Garlicke, Pylcher; these three were banished men.

"The principal receivers of the priests about London are Ruste the elder, W John Southcote, Richard Rainold, lodged at Whytffeld's in Holborn, John Mannop, lodged at the Three Kings, without Temple Bar, Henry D[un]ne, Mr. John Darrell of Sussex.

"The lodgings of the said priests are for the most part in the common inns in Holborn, especially the Red Lion; for their ordinary meals they are commonly at Whytffeld's in Holborn, and the Plough, without Temple Bar. [A sentence about the state of feeling among the Catholics is too imperfect for transcription.]

"April 23, 1586."

"May[1] it please your honour to be advertised that according to my [duty] and allegiance I have thought good to certify your honour the names of such Jesuits and priests as are now remaining in London, viz.:—

Edmonds the Jesuit,	Fortescue,
Cornellys,	Bosse,
Dryland,	Sherwood,
Barloe,	Twyfford, and
Lawyer,	Ithell, priests.
Blackborne,	

"These are now lodged in common inns about London, and they do receive their relief of Edmonds the Jesuit, who receives the same of Mr. Henry [Vaux], that daily collecteth money for the same purpose. This Ithell aforesaid came from Paris about a month past, where [he] made his abode one whole year now last past, and was conversant [and] familiar with Charles Paget, Charles Arundell, Morgan, Throgmorton, and the rest of that faction. I was earnestly urged by Edmonds to provide [lodgings] for the said Ithell, which (under your honour's correction) I did two days sithence [at] a tailor's house near Clement's Inn, where I have had some conference [with] him. . . . He

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxxviii. n. 72.

hath also promised to give me credit with Persons the Jesuit, by the help of Edmonds, if I will devise any sure means for the conveying of letters.

"London, May 26, 1586."

Another paper,[1] somewhat later in date, gives us the names of two Catholic houses frequented by Father Weston. Thules and Parry were afterwards his fellow-prisoners at Wisbech.

"The names of such Seminary priests as have been since Easter last, anno 1586, at Sir Thomas Tresham's.

Edmonds the Jesuit.
Christopher Thules, *alias* Ashton, now prisoner in the Gatehouse.
Stampe, *alias* Dighton, now prisoner in Wood Street.
Edward Dakins.
Ballard, *alias* Thompson, that was executed.
John Cornelius, with others that I do not now remember.

"The names of such as have been at Mitcham with Mr. Talbott since the same time.

Edmonds, Jesuit.
Wingfield.
Parry, *alias* Morgan, now prisoner in the Clink.
John Cornelius.
Doctor Stafferton.
John Mushe, with others that I do not now remember.

"3 Martii, 1586[7]."

To these letters, by which we get an insight into the service rendered by the spies, it may be well to add others that show how those services received some extraordinary recompense. Recusants and priests were arrested as enemies

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcix. n. 15.

of the State, too dangerous to be at liberty; yet some of them were set at liberty because "the money would do Berden great pleasure, being in extreme need thereof." Mr. Secretary Walsingham was influenced by his decipherer, Phelippes, and Phelippes was influeneed by Berden, and Berden was bribed.

Ralph Bickley, who would have been worth 20*l.* to Berden, was not released, but Phelippes' letter shows that Shelley was substituted for Bickley when the application was made to Walsingham.

"Ralph Bickley, a Seminary priest, [was] committed by the Lord Chancellor and others of the lords of the Council the 3rd day of May, 1585, and was examined before Mr. Attorney-General and Mr. Solicitor." So says the list[1] of prisoners in the Gatehouse at Westminster, on the 12th of June, 1586. He was Father Weston's fellow-prisoner at Wisbech, and his fellow-exile on the accession of James I. in 1603. At Wisbech Father Weston obtained for him a closer fellowship, for Father Garnet wrote[2] to Father Persons, August 15, 1597: "Ralph Bickley wrote to you to sue for him that he may be admitted. He is a very singular man. I pray you obtain it. He hath sued these twelve years. He is with Father Weston, who desireth it greatly."

He was arrested again in 1617, when Atkinson, the apostate priest and pursuivant, succeeded in getting 20*l.* from him, under promise of letting him go free for that sum, and then took him before Sir Ralph Winwood, a magistrate, which Father Bickley, in a fragment of a letter that describes it, calls "cozening" and "conie-catching."

Carleton, for whom Berden interests himself so disinterestedly, was Richard Sherwood, the priest, whose servant, when a layman, Edmund Genings, the martyr,

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxc. n. 25.
[2] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 537.

had been. Shelley was a layman. Berden's letter[1] is addressed to Thomas Phelippes, and is dated "from Bedlam."

"Sir,—Upon Thursday last, being at the French Ambassador's (as I told you), there was also the Lady Compton, in company with the Lady Strange, who had attending upon them young Thomas Jarrat [Gerard], son and heir to Sir Thomas. There was also Francis Tresham, son and heir to Sir Thomas Tresham, who I see is well acquainted in that house, and he had conference with the Ambassador himself, but he came alone. The rest made a visitation which I suppose was rather for letters than otherwise, the courier being arrived the night before. For the Lady Strange I can say nothing: the rest are all too bad members and meet to be looked unto, whereof I pray you advertise his honour.

"For any convey to the Earl[2] in the Tower I can find none that he either hath or had as yet. Edmonds is not yet come. Upon Monday I would crave the help of your man.

"Sir, if it please you to procure me the liberty of Ralph Bickley, Seminary priest in the Gatehouse, at his honour's hands, it will be worth 20*l.* to me; and the liberty also of Richard Sherwood, *alias* Carleton, prisoner in the Counter, in Wood Street, will be worth 30*l.* They crave their liberty upon bonds with sureties to appear again at twenty days' warning. The money will do me great pleasure, being now in extreme need thereof; neither do I know how to shift longer without it. In which suit I earnestly pray your furtherance, not only for the gain, but also to make them beholden to me and thereby to make them instruments to do her Majesty good service, though against their will. For Carleton I take to be a

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv. n. 75.

[2] The Earl of Arundel had at this time been about fourteen months in the Tower.

meet man to further any service concerning the Earl that you will devise, and his practices beyond the seas (if there be any), I hope will not be hid from me: and the priests always to be disposed of as shall please his honour, and my turn served, for Carleton he is persuaded there is no hope but by your means, and he hath directed me to make friends to you for his liberty. So praying you to favour these suits as well for my particular, which is somewhat extreme at this present, whereof his honour is not ignorant, and for the service in general, I rest expecting your answer hereunto, if you please. From Bedlam, this Saturday night. Yours to command,—NICHOLAS BERDEN.

"Bickley is of small account, and was departing the realm about the beginning of the statute."

In the next letter[1] we have Phelippes interceding with Walsingham for Berden and others.

"It may please your honour. The appósted party, with his supplication for Carleton and Shelley, will present himself unto you, at your coming abroad, which is B[erden]'s brother-in-law. It may please your honour to sign this warrant ready. He is addressed of whom to demand it, after upon your honour's show of contentment, and Mr. Justice Young to take good surety for his forthcoming and good behaviour every way toward the State. It may please you to-morrow to be good unto Gray, of Wisbech, who will be petitioner for some of the best priests or others that their honours think well to be restrained of liberty. Doctor Bavand is an old man, and no seminary, and well commended by Doctor Young, which maketh me bold to pray your honour that according to his supplication to the lords, he may be to-morrow committed to Mr. Jo. Roper, of Kent, who cometh to church, but I take him to be otherwise affected in religion.

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxc. n. 30.

But this I do at mine uncle's request, who was his pupil at Oxford, having hitherto refused to make any motion in favour of the man till now I see a general course taken for them all. And seeing the man is like enough otherwise to have favour, I would not have my uncle think but that my good word had been cause thereof. And so I humbly take my leave. London, the 13th of June, 1586. Your honour's always most humble at commandment,—THO. PHELIPPES."

Berden writes[1] to Walsingham to thank him for another favour of the same kind.

"I humbly thank your honour for that it pleased you to spare Christopher Dryland's life at the last sessions, at my request, assuring you that it hath much increased my credit amongst the Papists that by my endeavour his life was saved, for they suppose that some friend at my request moved your honour therein. I protest I abhor the man in regard of his profession, and the only thing that moved me thereunto was for that the man is singularly well persuaded of me, supposing me to be a most apt man to serve the Papists' turn, and further a man of great credit amongst them all, of what faction soever, and therefore a meet man to be sent over, thereby to avow and maintain my credit to all the practisers. May it therefore please your honour, if it may stand with your honourable courses and the benefit of the State, to grant him liberty upon bond with sureties, in respect of his health, to yield his body before the lords at a month's warning to be given at one of his sureties' houses, or to depart the realm within the said term after his enlargement. My meaning is that he shall (and so his is own) depart the realm within one month; but he standeth scrupulous to be bound directly to depart, for that they

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv. n. 21.

choose rather death than voluntary banishment, for that is scandalous amongst their fellows; and Martin Arre [Array] is generally condemned for that he yielded thereunto, and he that shall give credit to another man had need to preserve his own. So praying your honour's favour in the suit, if it be not offensive, I humbly crave pardon for my boldness. If it may please your honour to grant the suit, the party is prisoner in the Counter in Wood Street; and Mr. Justice Young will hinder his liberty, except your honour take special order therein.

"London, November 23, 1586."

"Dryland, Tyrrell, Wolseley, in the Counter in Wood Street, apprehended this last month, and famous priests."[1] Such is one notice of Dryland in the State Papers. Another is,[2] "The Counter in Wood Street: Dryland, Tyrrell, Wolseley, Dighton, Dibdale, Maddox—conjurers or exorcisers as they are termed."

One word of Martin Array, an excellent priest, the spelling of whose name is wonderfully varied. Walsingham's private secretary, Francis Mills, was greatly puzzled by his liberation, as he tells Walsingham in the letter we are about to give. From a Stonyhurst Paper[3] we learn that Array was "for a round sum bought from the shambles." Mills writes of his release, and it is amusing to see his compassion for the poor pursuivants who were balked of their prey. Just so, in the letter that recounted to us Father Weston's arrest, he bewailed Davies' liberation, for "these men that take such pains to find out these miscreants are discouraged much to see, many of them receive so much favour and liberty." And he even adds that "*they say*," that is, the pursuivants say, that "Mr. Young also is gentle enough towards these men,

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxci. n. 37.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. cxciii. n. 13.
[3] *Angl. A.* vol. i. n. 70; *Letter-Books of Sir Amias Poulet*, p. 387.

for all his outward show of forwardness." The Catholics did not say so,[1] though Justice Young also was open to the influence of a bribe.

As to Array, Berden notes for Walsingham's information,[2]—"Martin Arre: this deserveth well to be hanged, for that he received great favour of his honour and was bound to depart this realm, and yet remaineth in the North parts. It were good to call upon his bonds." In an examination[3] under the name of Martin Ara, *alias* Cotton, he gives some account of his movements since he came to England as a priest. The following is the letter[4] from Mills to Walsingham.

"It may please your honour, having lodged these two nights past Newall and Worsley here with me, to the end I might have them at hand to help do the service I am here about [the apprehension of Ballard and Babington], they requiring this forenoon to go for an hour or two abroad, as I thought for some their necessary private causes, are now returned to me, having about Tuttle [Tothill] Street apprehended three priests and committed them close and several to the Counter in Wood Street. The names of these priests are in the little paper inclosed.[5] And the other inclosed papers[6] they found about Robert Palmer, one of the three, worth reading to see how little they account of her Majesty or her laws made against such traitorous varlets as they are, and what grounds they think they have by the laws of this realm to stand against any law made in her Majesty's time. There was in the company of these priests the wife of young Peckham

[1] *Condition of Catholics*, p. lxix.
[2] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv. n. 72.
[3] Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 422.
[4] P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xviii. n. 71.
[5] Thomas Smythe, *alias* Deacon, Robert Palmer, Simon Godfraye.
[6] The form of indictment of a priest, with an outline of the arguments that might be used at the bar in defence of a priest so indicted.

(deceased), son to Sir G. Peckham, but escaped away because these two men had not belike ability to apprehend all the company, being as they were ready to go home and ride away.

"All this day I hear nothing of Casye, Phelippes' man.

"Newall and Worsley say there is one Martin Arrea[1] set at liberty out of the Counter (a notable Seminary priest) yesterday or very lately, which they are very sorry for. Whether your honour know anything hereof, and that this Martin be used to any good purpose with your privity I know not, but these messengers are sorry he is enlarged. Thus I humbly cease to trouble your honour.

"Your honour's most humble servant
always at commandment,

"FRA. MYLLES.

"Tower Hill, the 24th of July, 1586."

Christopher Dryland was not set free as Berden proposed, but was sent to Wisbech Castle. He was a priest of very exemplary life, and is said to have been Father Weston's confessor while they were fellow-prisoners at Wisbech.* He was banished in 1603, and going at once to Rome, entered the Society.

He is hardly to be blamed for desiring to get his release made out in such terms that he should not be looked upon by Catholics abroad as having purchased his liberty by renouncing his priestly work in England. It was not very heroic, but all men are not heroes. Our Father Weston acted in a very different spirit, for, as we shall see later on,[2] when the Countess of Arundel offered to purchase his liberty, he absolutely refused it if thus obtained.

[1] "This Arrea was by them taken." *In marg.*

[2] *Infra*, p. 196.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BABINGTON PLOT.

Of the two men who were the chief of those pretending to be Catholics that they might act as spies, Berden and Poley, Father Weston looked upon Poley as the cause of his arrest, though it was really Berden. In the words in which he resumes his narrative, it is pretty plain that he had Poley in his mind. As to Poley's keeping a good table and entertaining Catholics, it is a coincidence that on the day of Father Weston's arrest, Phelippes wrote to Walsingham,[1] "I might have taken him [Babington] and a whole knot at supper in Poley's garden."

The folly was extreme of trusting a man who lived under Walsingham's roof. Poley was in the service of Walsingham's daughter, Lady Sydney. Babington disported himself in Poley's garden, as though the sharpest eyes in Europe were not fixed upon him, though he knew all the while, as Father Weston is about to tell us, that Walsingham was better acquainted with his plot than he was himself. Babington wrote only one letter to the Queen of Scots that ever reached her hands, and that was the well-known letter in which he communicated to her his plans for her liberation. This letter was accompanied by a few lines to Queen Mary's Secretary Nau, to ask his opinion of Poley. Nau's answer about him, which was not very assuring, was sent off at once, without waiting till Mary's answer to Babington was ready. It was of these that Phelippes said,[2] "The short note was sent to Bab., wherein is somewhat only in answer of that concerned

[1] P.R.O., *Queen of Scots*, vol. xix. n. 6.

[2] *Letter-Books of Sir Amias Poulet*, p. 224.

Poley in his. We attend her very heart at the next." As "her very heart," when it came, contained no allusion whatever to the proposed assassination of Elizabeth, interpolations were foisted into her letter, a copy of which thus falsified was the only evidence brought against her.

We are concerned only with Poley here, and these are the two letters[1] relating to him that passed between Babington and Nau.

"A Monsr. Nau, Secretaire de sa Mate.

"Monsr. Nau,—Je seroy bien aise d'entendre quelle opinion vous auez d'un nommé Robert Pooley lequel ie trouve d'auoir intelligence des affaires de sa Mate. Je suis fort priué avec luy, par quel moyen j'en sçay quelque chose, et en soupsonne d'auantage. Je vous prie faictes m'en sçauoir vostre opinion de luy.

"ANTHO. BABINGTON.

"Je pense que cecy a esté escript per un
Babington et que Curle luy a respondu
en mon nom. Ainsy signé, NAU.
C'est la vray copie de la lettre que i'escrivis
à Mons. Nau. Ainsy signé, ANTHOINE BABINGTON."

"Sir,—Yesternight her Majesty received your letters and their inclosed, which before this bearer's return cannot be deciphered. He is within these two or three days to repair hither again: against which time her Majesty's answer shall be in readiness. In the meanwhile I would not omit to show you that there is great assurance given of Mr. Poley his faithful serving of her Majesty, and by his own letters hath vowed and promised the same. As yet her Majesty's experience of him is not so great as I dare embolden you to trust him much, he never having written to her Majesty but once, whereunto she hath not yet answered for not knowing of his abode, neither assuredly to whose hands he first committed the said

[1] P.R.O., *Queen of Scots*, vol. xix. n. 9; vol. xviii. n. 43.

letters. Let me know plainly what you understand of him. And so I will pray God to preserve you. This 13th of July. At Chartley. "NAU."

Father Weston thus describes this Robert Poley. "The principal author of my apprehension was, it was said, a certain man who held one of the smaller offices in Court and had obtained some familiarity with Secretary Walsingham, whom he served in the quality of a spy, being ready witted by nature and ingenious in deceiving, and from whom upon occasions he received, according to report, large sums of gold and silver to encourage him in his art. He had contrived to insinuate himself into the intimate acquaintance of the chief Catholics who resided about London, whom he would receive often in his own house and at a table luxuriously supplied. Through this familiarity, by thus becoming accustomed to him and through habit, he gained their good opinion as being a worthy man, approved not only as honourable but as very devout, so that he was often admitted to be present with them at Mass, the sacraments, and exhortations. For he knew right well how to behave himself, so that he came to them without a shadow of suspicion. By this Catholic demeanour and the friendship of good men, he acquired so high a character that he tried to avail himself of it in order to fasten himself upon me, and to obtain more familiarity than I was anxious for. In short, he made me so many promises and was so obsequious in his manner towards me that it made me scent out something that did not please me. For instance, his house, his room, his keys, his coffers would be all open to me and might be used by me; whether he were at home or absent, he would make arrangements that in any time of peril or difficulty whatever I should always find a refuge in his house. If I desired to send letters or money to any place

beyond the seas, he never had a doubt but that he could help on my purpose, and send them from any harbour or any part of the sea coast. Now I knew that the possibility of such promises was beyond the reach of any good or sincere Catholic, for it is not possible for such to dare to make such offers, or to lend such aid in so disturbed and hostile a condition of public affairs: so I began to avoid him by degrees and to see as little of him as was possible, albeit even this line of conduct did not appear to me particularly safe; for I could not escape him very long without having to undergo a serious expostulation on his part on account of my altered behaviour, so that it became clear to me that he felt himself offended in no small a degree. The marks of his affection for me began from that time very much to cool; and what he afterwards attempted against me, it is not in my power to relate. General rumour reported that he was the man who betrayed me, and nine days before my arrest had stationed a watch in secret at the gates of London, giving them a description of my person, so that as I passed by they might be able to secure me. Neither did his hopes deceive him.

"Now to return to my story. They imprisoned me in a room in which, for greater security, a warder was shut up with me. At midnight after the second or third day[1] I heard the bells ringing in an unaccustomed manner through the entire city. I inquired of my keeper what this bell-ringing meant. He answered that the city was overjoyed at the capture of various Papists who had been engaged in the horrible crime and treachery of conspiring against the life of the sovereign, and had plotted to nominate the Queen of Scots as the rightful heir of the crown and to ravage the city of London with fire and sword; also to make one Edmonds a Jesuit (meaning myself, who

[1] This was the 15th of August, and Father Weston had been more than ten days under arrest.

at that time went by the name of Edmonds) bishop of the city. 'A horrid conspiracy!' he added; 'but God has turned their evil plot against the heads of the authors of it.'

"He mentioned several gentlemen, whose names I knew well, as actors in the conspiracy. And although it struck me that a great deal of what was told me must be false and feigned, still I did not doubt but that some secret mischief had been at work which would be used by the heretics with a most intense zeal and ingenuity as a handle for cruel persecution against all Catholics, and even for their ruin, unless God should interpose. The idea made me forget my own danger, although the prospect before me was nothing less than a most painful death. I was absorbed in anxiety for our common cause that stood in such extremity, and every kind of disturbing thought came upon me to agitate my mind. For as I knew with what a hatred the heretics were inflamed against the Catholic faith, there was nothing else to expect but that with all craft and dissimulation and extreme cruelty they would no longer spare any person or thing, but having obtained this pretext either real or assumed, and planned by themselves (as was afterwards proved to be the case), they would expend their rage against Catholics without intermission. In the midst of these tempestuous thoughts, which distracted and wounded my mind, the night passed away. Then followed the morning, and the day more sorrowful than the night. On one side of my room I had the public street, on the other side flowed the Thames. During all that day and, I think, some days following, there was a great concourse of men full of excitement and congratulating each other; they collected piles of wood for their bonfire and stood around talking wildly and boastfully against the Pope, the King of Spain, the Catholics, and the Queen of Scots; and as you may suppose against the Jesuits also, and that not in the last place. As I saw and heard these things through the window (for they lit

their bonfire just beneath it), I could not help pitying them and lamenting for ourselves.

"But on the other side of the room the spectacle was still more terrible: Catholics bound and carried in boats along the river to and fro between the tribunals and the Tower of London. The Tower was probably at the distance of a mile and a half from Westminster, where the courts of justice are held. It was easy to see and distinguish when they were being conveyed by river in the boats, from the uniform and arms of the soldiers, and from the rushing and tumult of the people thronging to see, who had often light skiffs in which they accompanied the prisoners all the way on the river. Such was the daily spectacle that met my eyes during a period of six or seven weeks. In all that interval the trials were going on. Sentence of death was passed upon several gentlemen, and the executions took place. Yet in the course of all these weeks nothing whatever was done with me, no examination was made or question asked, although in the estimation of all the heretics I had been the author and leader of the whole tragedy. Of this my quiet, and of the delay whilst every day and hour I expected to be removed to the Tower, where all the others were detained in irons and subjected to tortures, I can allege no better cause than that they were anxious to extort by torments from the rest all that lay in their power, so as to be able to bring me forward as the concluding show of the entire tragedy, already convicted and adjudged by the overwhelming testimony of so many persons, and that they might enjoy a perpetual triumph against the Jesuits as the contrivers of evil against princes. I do not say this without just ground of suspicion, as I was afterwards told that during the space of a whole year there was no one seized or put upon the rack who was not most carefully examined with respect to me as to whether I knew of or had given any help towards the affair, which circumstance was not dis-

guised even by my keeper, for he often told me that he was in daily expectation of my being carried away to the Tower for examination.

"However, after the entire affair of the conspiracy had been most strictly investigated on all sides, and those who were found guilty had been condemned to death and executed, they then brought my cause before the public, but it was very quickly disposed of if we consider the times, for as they had not succeeded in gaining any evidence against me in spite of the rigorous examinations of the others, in sheer desperation of bringing out anything against me, they resolved to act with mildness. They examined me, however, recounting before me the names of all the alleged authors of that conspiracy, and asking me whether I knew them or had given them counsel or had heard anything of their attempt or had any understanding of it; and other similar searching questions they put to me. I made answer, which was the real truth, that I had not the slightest acquaintance with their plan or design, and as they had nothing more severe to charge me with or prove me guilty of, they relinquished that head of their accusation and turned to another, namely, that I had persuaded a certain gentleman[1] not to espouse the party of the Earl of Leicester, and not to afford him any assistance in that unjust campaign of his with the heretics in Belgium against the King of Spain; for this gentleman had served the Earl with a large equipment of soldiers and horses at his own expense. They said that with a long exhortation and many arguments I had pointed out to him the injustice of that war. The examiner related likewise the very place where I had held such a discourse with him, and that, having mounted me on his own horse, he had taken me to his home. He then indicated the part of the house where my chamber stood, and that I had delivered an exhortation there in the presence of

[1] See Tyrrell's information respecting Mr. Bold, *supra*, p. 140.

many persons. He even mentioned the text of Scripture upon which I had preached, together with some part of my sermon and its phrases.

"When I heard all these things it was impossible not to be amazed: for many of them were true, though mingled with interpolations; which latter, as I could prove them to be falsities, I so handled and turned as to throw doubt upon even the other things which were true, and to let it appear that the person who did not scruple to be untruthful in some cases was not worthy of belief when he testified to the rest. He made answer: 'You need not think that by this trick you will escape, or that by the sophistry of your logic, you can elude the laws; but we will make you confess the truth.'

"Then he changed his discourse to certain other things not much to the purpose, and asked many curious questions concerning exorcisms, and the power of casting out devils from the bodies of men by the ceremonies of the Church, about which things there had been much earnest talking in the mouths of all men; and for that day he departed.

"On the next day he came again, and drawing a written paper from his breast, he said to me: 'See here, I bring you the confession of a man written in his own words, that you may know how hard it will be for you to equivocate, and how true were the things which I related and upon which I questioned you; and yet you hesitate and refuse to confess.' He then began to read over a long list of statements pertaining to that gentleman's confession. I said to him, 'Well, what more do you require from me, and why do you go on pressing me, when you have this confession of the man who is accused?' For if he has admitted himself that he has conversed with me, that he has entertained me, that I told him such and such things with regard to Leicester and the war in Flanders, arrange your accounts with him;

a criminal's confession against himself is worth more than the testimony of many witnesses; let his blood fall upon his own head; I know nothing of these things, nor can confess them; if he accuses me of anything, you know better than I do, or if you mean things that I do not deny, such as that I am a Catholic, a priest, a Jesuit, bring it forward and urge it; it will rest with me to defend my cause or to assent to the accusations.' When he saw indeed that he was unable to extort anything more from me, he departed; for I knew, or guessed pretty well, that the whole charge was a pretence and a fiction and that no such confession had been made by any one, but was an invention of their own brains to bring that gentleman within the clutches of their laws, since he was very rich and had large revenues,—those laws, I mean, which forbid men under pain of death and confiscation of property to have any intercourse with priests and Jesuits, and that they might thus have it in their power to deprive him of his goods and even of his life, if it so pleased them; although that man was not at that time a Catholic, but had a pious inclination towards the Faith, as he showed an extreme desire to see me and treat with me about certain affairs relating to his soul and conscience. I had consented to visit him, though with reluctance, being urged by the entreaties of various persons who thoroughly knew him and had special influence with me. He had been married to a Catholic, and some were of the same faith who belonged to his family, who lived in a house some leagues from London. Thither he conducted me, and there I celebrated Mass, heard confessions and gave exhortations to such as were Catholics. Though not admitted to Mass, he wished to be present at the sermons.

"The process, against me however, did not entirely rest here, for after an interval of one or two days they took me out of the room where they had kept me hitherto with a solitary keeper, and carried me away across the river

to a private dwelling-house, where, with greater length and seriousness they examined me upon all the charges. I formed a conjecture that they had brought me into the light for no other purpose than to have opportunities of producing against me divers faithless and treacherous men, who would bear witness that they had seen me in the company of that gentleman, and that I had preached in his house. After my arrival at the dwelling which they had chosen for me, they treated me not like a criminal, that is to say, they did not make me stand bare-headed to answer their demands in the humble position of a suppliant, but they placed me at the head of the table above the examiners themselves, and wished me to speak and reply to their questions with my head covered. Sitting down, therefore, as they requested me, although at first I declined, I was not so foolish as to believe that it was with any intention of doing me honour that they behaved in such a manner, knowing how they abhorred the name of a priest and a Jesuit.

"Happening to lift my eyes, I noticed in the higher part of the room opposite to me, a net-like grating covered with a curtain. Then the thought recurred to my mind that perhaps they had placed some traitor there to identify me, if possible, as I was just in front of him, as the person whom they had accused of carrying on the secret conversation with the gentleman above mentioned. My suspicions were by no means improbable, for later on the whole stratagem was laid open, and the author of the treachery was recognized and restored to liberty; for at that time they held him in custody. They were not anxious to produce this traitor openly that he might accuse me face to face, lest, being once recognized, he should lose his power of injuring us and of being useful to them. He served them, indeed, afterwards, and did great injury to many other persons, but most particularly to himself.

"Here, therefore, they put many questions to me with respect to the conspiracy of Anthony Babington and his companions, the supremacy of Queen Elizabeth, the authority of the Pope, the Papal dispensation for the marriage of Henry VIII. and Catharine his wife, the Queen of Scots, and sundry other subjects, none of them new. However, neither did they bring against me stronger arguments or proofs than they had done before.

"When they had satisfied themselves with every species of interrogation, they sent me back to my prison, where they kept me five months in daily expectation of something new, either that they would bring me out for death, or would take me to the Tower. For, although they had found me innocent and free from all ground of accusation with regard to the conspiracy, still they were furnished with ample reason for putting me to death seeing that I was a priest and a Jesuit. However, they are not willing to allege reasons like these when they can invent any more odious offence to accuse men of in presence of the people.

"These affairs, therefore, being satisfactorily arranged, according to their ideas, they immediately turned all their thoughts and designs towards the subject of the trial of the Queen of Scots.[1] With every kind of preparation and solicitude, they appointed informers and other agents for carrying on that business, and executing the sentence at Fotheringay, where she was kept in close imprisonment; and in a very short time that whole work of iniquity was brought to a close. As to myself, I remained, as I said, in great perplexity of mind concerning that which might occur both to my own person and our cause in general, and I prayed unceasingly to God that He would turn to good these strange and terrible extremities of persecution.

"Once as I was sitting full of care I turned my eyes

[1] Mary was tried in the middle of October, 1586, and was executed February 8, $158\frac{6}{7}$.

towards another part of the room, and there became visible to me a sheet of paper thrown down in a dark corner of it. The previous day I had heard a great noise in that direction, which noise had been meant as a signal to attract my attention by the person who brought the writing. So I picked up the letter, for the bringer of it had taken heed of the time when my keeper was out of the way, and on it I read the following words: 'Write back who you are, what you wish to be done, and if you are in want of anything.' He had inclosed a pen in the paper, but the ink had been lost, I think, by the way, or else they had forgotten to send any. Necessity drove me to hunt through every corner of the room to see whether any materials for writing could be found. At length I lit upon a dry and withered flower which, when chewed, supplied moisture and colour sufficient to produce in writing letters that were legible. Having written, therefore, what was essential, I waited for the departure of the keeper on the following day, and when the friendly noise was heard at the hole, I gave back the answer. This happened through the diligence and care of some Catholics who were in the neighbouring prison; and not only was the whole affair an immense consolation to me, but proved exceedingly useful for many purposes, for by this contrivance I received intelligence of what was going on outside the walls. This way of writing was put an end to shortly afterwards, but another plan was thought of and invented, still more convenient, both for the exchange of letters and for the transmission of various things besides.

"At this time two priests out of the same prison were led forth to judgment; sentence of death was passed upon them and they were executed."

We know of three of Father Weston's fellow-prisoners in the Clink to whom God gave the grace of martyrdom, besides those whose martyrdom he here mentions. In the six months from June to November, 1586, there were com-

mitted to the Clink fourteen priests and ten laymen, of whom only two were discharged during that time. This we know from a certificate among the State Papers,[1] but there may have been other recusants in the Clink, whose

[1] "An abstract of the certificate of priests and other recusants committed to sundry prisons since the month of June, 1586, until November, 1586.

"Clink.

Priests.
- Sampson Lowe, committed by Mr. Attorney, the 19th of October.
- Jonas Meredith, committed by the lords, 13th of August.
- James Taylor, committed by the lords, 15th of August.
- Christopher Asheton, committed by the lords, 29th of August.

David Ringsteede, committed by the B. of Winton, the 3rd of June.

Richard Bawlbett, committed by the Archb. of Canterbury, the 14th of June.

Roger Yardley, *alias* Bruerton, gent., committed by Mr. Secretary, the 22nd of August.

Thomas Leighton, gent., committed by the lords, the 28th of August.

Charles Babington, gent., committed by Mr. Secretary, discharged by him the 8th of November.

Thomas Dymocke, gent., discharged by Mr. Waade, the 18th of November.

Norton Greene, gent., committed by Mr. Young, the 8th of September.

John Gage, gent., committed the 4th of September, and discharged by Mr. Waade.

John Stephens, sent from Winchester, the 30th of October.

Richard Lusher, gent., committed by the Archb. of Canterbury, the 10th of October.

Priests.
- John Robinson, pr., committed the 30th of June by the Lord Treasurer.
- William Parrye, pr., committed the 28th of September by Mr. Secretary.
- Paul Spence, pr., committed by Mr. Rokeby, the 19th of January, 1586.
- Edward James, pr., sent by Mr. Topcliffe, 1st of May, 1586.
- Morrice Williams, pr., committed by Mr. Young, the 17th of June.
- William Edmonds, pr., committed the 4th of August by Mr. Secretary.
- Nicholas Phipps, *alias* Smyth, pr., committed by Mr. Secretary, the 19th of September.
- Anthony Tyrrell, pr., committed by Mr. Young, the 17th of September.
- William Cartricke, pr., committed by Mr. Secretary, the 30th of October.
- Nicholas Gellebrand, pr., committed by Mr. Young, the 9th of October" (*Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv. n. 34).

committal was of an earlier date. Two martyrs are named in this list, John Robinson and Edward James, who suffered, the one at Ipswich, in October, 1588, and the other on the 17th of the same month, at Chichester. Edward James was one of four priests who were seized off Littlehampton, in Sussex, and who never set foot in England after their ordination except in custody. Ralph Crockett, another of this company, was executed with him.[1]

John Robinson was a widower, and his son, Francis Robinson, was also a priest, "a true heir of his father's virtue." Bishop Challoner quotes the narrative of a priest of the name of Joseph Haynes, which may fitly find place here. "Mr. John Robinson, a secular priest, being in the year 1588 prisoner in the Clink at London, when the rest that had been there prisoners with him (whom he called his bairns, and they for his age and sincerity called him father), were, for the Catholic faith, sent into divers parts of the kingdom to be executed; the good old man, being left alone, lamented for divers days together exceedingly, until at last a warrant was sent from the Council to execute him also. The news whereof did much revive him, and to him that brought the warrant he gave his purse and all his money, and fell down on his knees and gave God thanks. Being to set forward in his journey, they willed him to put on boots, for it was in winter, and so far as Ipswich in Suffolk where he was sent to suffer. 'Nay,' said the good man, 'these legs had never boots on yet, since they were mine, and now surely they shall perform this journey without boots, for they shall be well paid for their pains.'"

Another martyr, William Flower, *alias* Way, will be mentioned later. Those of whom Father Weston speaks as executed at this time, were John Lowe and John Adams, who suffered for their priesthood at Tyburn,

[1] Their examinations exist in the P. R. O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxxxviii. n. 46, and the account of their execution, *ibid.* vol. ccxvii. n. 1. See Mr. Simpson's article in the *Rambler* for April, 1857, p. 269.

October 8, 1586. Their names are of frequent occurrence when the exorcisms are mentioned, and thus in a list of prisoners,[1] dated August or September, 1586, they are bracketed with Father Weston as "practisers." At this time Tyrrell was in the Counter in Wood Street, but he was transferred to the Clink before their execution, which he attributes, as we shall afterwards see, to the information against them given by himself. He must therefore have had the misery of seeing these two innocent men taken out for execution through his cowardice.

"This period was indeed full of confusion for every one: all the roads and harbours were beset, and guarded day and night, so that no one without most rigorous examination was allowed to pass. The hostelries, the houses, the rooms were searched and investigated with such exceeding diligence that neither guest nor acquaintance could hope to escape notice, but was compelled to render an account of himself. In this manner many priests were captured, and the prisons throughout the whole kingdom were thronged with Catholics.

"This seems to me to be a convenient opportunity for inserting a few particulars concerning that entire affair, I mean the plot attempted by Anthony Babington, partly drawn from what I have read in a certain writing of Father Southwell, who drew up a brief description of the whole conspiracy, partly from those things which with my own eyes I saw and understood. Anthony Babington was a man of good family, and in income,

[1] "In the Clink—

"Practisers
- Edmonds the Jesuit.
- Adams.
- Parry, *alias* Morgan.
- Edward James.
- Lowe.

Robinson.
Williams.
Paul Spence, a banished man, but simple, and hath subscribed to her Majesty's authority" (*Lansdowne MSS.* 363, fol. 10).

ready money, furniture, and other property, well provided, young, scarcely thirty years old, attractive both in face and in all bodily perfections, sharp of understanding, pleasant and facetious, and with a turn for literature unusual among men of the world. He had spent a portion of his life in Paris, or elsewhere on the Continent, whither he had travelled for the sake of curiosity and also for learning. Upon his return to London he lived in such a manner as to gather around him, by force of his gifts and moral superiority, various young men of his own rank and position, Catholics, zealous, adventurous, bold in the face of danger, ardent for the protection of the Catholic faith, or for any enterprise the end of which was to promote the general Catholic cause.

"Walsingham (as we are told by Father Southwell, whose little work is said to have just come from the press, and I wish much that your Reverence had seen and read it when I saw it in manuscript and freshly brought out, and only accessible to a few), Walsingham, I say, from whom it was impossible to hide their proceedings, judged that nothing could be worthier of his genius and dexterity than to invent an iniquitous stratagem, and by its means to involve these young men in destructive designs, which must serve to inflict a stigma of dishonour upon the Catholic cause and bring in ample and pleasant spoil from the confiscated property of the victims. This Walsingham, therefore, being expressly fitted for the art of deceiving by the employment of all kinds of fraud and devices, caused one or two of his own hypocrites to be introduced into their society, who could act the part of Catholics with profoundest dissimulation, entering into long and close familiarity with them, and most devoutly dedicating themselves to God and all holy things in every business of theirs; and then work on from smaller matters until they could suggest the undertaking of the supreme design of

all; not indeed the death of Elizabeth, as the heretics declare falsely, but the release from prison of the Queen of Scots, the next legitimate heir to the crown after Elizabeth, and conveying her safe and sound into France, there to be under the protection of the Duke of Guise, her near blood relation. This enterprise they did not consider as exceedingly arduous, yet they imagined that it would be the cause of unbounded terror to the heretics, and would occasion them a great deal of laborious occupation, for there would be danger that the French, finding themselves in possession of the rightful heiress, might prepare and unite their forces, and restore her, at all events after Elizabeth's death, to her own lawful estate and kingdom by force of arms.

"This was the leading idea and foundation of the whole attempt and contrivance. For this purpose some excursions had to be made into Scotland and into France; and the entire negotiation was explained and communicated, as they thought, to the Duke of Guise. The unhappy men however were cruelly deluded, and ensnared in an inextricable network of perplexity and deceit. For the contrivers of this fraud so arranged that another man should assume the person and office of the Duke of Guise and should take the responsibility of providing the assistance which they were begging from the real Duke. They poured forth their innermost souls therefore, and their secret designs to this deceiver, and falling thus headlong into the most rash and immature resolves, came to ruin.

"This is, as well as I can remember, what was reported in Father Southwell's book. With regard to what concerns myself, I wish to add such details as came under my own eyes or notice in relation to the affair, either before or after it took place, over and above those things which I have mentioned already. Many opportunities came in my way of conversing familiarly with this Anthony Babington, and of discussing affairs in general

with him, seeing that he was a very ready witted person and, for a young man, had a considerable experience in matters of moment. And as he was excessively inclined to the idea of visiting foreign nations, it was a pleasure to him to hear me describing various circumstances which I had seen and known. Before, however, his setting out for the purpose of foreign travel, he was anxious to pay a visit to his own home and family, who lived at no small distance from London, and when he had made every preparation for this journey and his coach and horses were all ready, he begged that I would accompany him on the expedition, implying that he had decided hopes of being able to accomplish something for the cause of Christ and the Church in the society of his relations and friends. But, in spite of the prospect of these advantages, I did not think it desirable to avail myself of the offer, both for other good reasons, and likewise because that appearance of splendour and secular ambition, though not misbecoming to him and his state of life, did not appear to me to be profitable in my vocation of gaining souls.

"As it happened, however, in accordance with the changeableness of human affairs, in the course of a few days he was frustrated in all those expectations. For he was sent for to pay a visit to Walsingham, who put to him many questions concerning the Queen of Scots, and, together with a severe expostulation, informed him that he was himself aware of his most secret designs, that it lay in his power to disclose many secrets, if he chose, for he knew as a certain fact that letters had mutually passed between him and that Queen, and, after divers threatening words, he charged him to cultivate affection for his own country, and the fidelity of a subject towards his own sovereign. How the other defended himself I cannot tell; he did contrive to defend himself in such manner as he was able. Walsingham at length dismissed him full of

trouble, as I conceive, and very thoughtful, and disturbed with fear as to the result of various events.

"After an interval of a few days he was sent for again, and Walsingham went over once more and repeated his former discourse, with greater gentleness, however, and with some kind words well calculated to soften his feelings. He should remember what his position was, how excellently endowed in gifts, both of nature and education; of how great service he might become in the State; how useful his merits, if he would employ for his country's advantage his energies and his industry; that, for his own part, he was ready to bring him under the notice of the Queen, and obtain for him a personal interview; and stretching out his hand, he added: 'Come, now, act with confidence; do not fear to converse freely amongst Catholics on the subject of our affairs, so as to escape observation;' many other things he subjoined, trying to win the man to his side, for what purpose I know not; because he had already sufficiently entrapped him, one would think, in those former designs of which I made mention above.

"All these particularities Babington narrated to me with his own lips, one by one, and profound was my sorrow when I heard him telling me, since I knew full well what a master in the art of deception was this Walsingham, and how powerful in accomplishing whatever his mind was set upon. I answered him that he might as well put out of his mind all idea of his expedition, and I continued: 'It will not be either soon or easily that this affair will be brought to a close. I cannot tell you in what manner you can escape out of his snares: if you yield, you give up your religion; if you renounce him and decline his offers, you surrender yourself inevitably to the peril of death; if you doubt and waver betwixt the two, you will even then risk the loss of your life, and you will soon among Catholics lose the reputation of being a

Catholic.' He said in reply: 'No one who has ever known me will have a suspicion of my not being a Catholic, even if I were to use a little liberty either in speaking or acting.' I answered: 'No one doubts that you are a Catholic, and will be always so, and no one ever will doubt provided that you continue to act like a Catholic man, and fulfil the duties of one; but if you were ever to say words or attempt actions which Catholics would be ashamed to suggest even to their most intimate and most trusted friends, you would find it quite an impossibility to escape suspicion or to avoid disgrace.'

"This was my last conversation with Anthony Babington; indeed, from that day forward I never saw him more. If I had had an opportunity of seeing him I should have abstained from so doing, not that I feared for himself or for anything that he might do (for in his religion he was always the best and bravest of young men); nor did I imagine that Walsingham would ever be able to lead him astray in any matter that would be dishonourable to a Catholic, but because it was clear to my mind that I could not with safety enter into and preserve an intimacy with men of his description, and still maintain that pure principle of our Institute which requires us to interfere only in such business and matters as may concern religion, withholding ourselves from political affairs. This would be in the present instance impossible, since he would be driven to consult me frequently, and impart to me much information.

"Afterwards the affair became public; the whole plan of the negotiations was laid open; the authors of it hunted to death, the remainder scattered through every quarter of the kingdom, wherever they could hope for a refuge. Anthony, with four others, fled to a neighbouring wood, wherein they tried to conceal themselves. Meantime, being pressed by hunger, Anthony sent to a neighbouring house that belonged to a Catholic woman, the

same Mrs. Bellamy of whom I before spoke.[1] To one of the daughters of that gentlewoman he sent a ring from his finger, entreating by that token, which she knew by sight, as the gems inserted in it were of great price, that she would supply some provision for himself and his companions. She complied with his request, in spite of its being full of danger; but sympathy and pity conquered in her all fear of consequences. Still they were not able to remain long in hiding: they were taken themselves, and with them Mrs. Bellamy, the young lady above mentioned, and two others of her children. They were all separated, and sent to different prisons.

"Of the two sons who were placed in the Tower, one was tortured with such cruelty that he sank under it and died. After his death he was calumniated by the heretics, who said that he had strangled himself. Jerome, the other, was condemned to death at the same time with Anthony and the other conspirators, and executed accordingly. Their mother was also placed in the Tower, and after some months died, worn out with suffering and with the filth and loathsomeness of her prison; miserably in truth if we look merely at this present life, gloriously however as I should judge of such a death, for it does not seem to me either in place or manner inferior to that of a martyr.

"Since the present opportunity appears to be a suitable one for the narration, I am not willing to pass over a certain memorable event which occurred in the house of this same gentlewoman, Mrs. Bellamy. A short time before the breaking out of that tragedy a herb, or rather a shrub, furnished with leaves, flowers, and at length fruit in form like berries, sprang up and grew in the inner roof of an upper chamber, in a place that projected just above people's heads, between the principal beam and the mortar. They usually cover the internal ceilings of houses with a smooth layer of cement or gypsum spread

[1] *Supra*, p. 49.

over a firm framework made of wood. It was between this cement and the old rafter, without sap or moisture, that the plant fixed its roots and began to flourish. After the leaves and the flowers it put forth its fruits, which were only five in number. Neither was this a sudden event, appearing and disappearing in a moment, but during many months it continued, and the spectacle was shown to all who lived near and was seen by them, not without just and universal surprise.

"The lady took wonderful pleasure in her new and marvellous plant. She failed not to visit it every day, and she showed it to all who came to the house. After several months she went up to see it as usual and beheld it in a withering condition, about to give way out of its support, which had grown loose and altogether threatening decay. She turned to her daughter-in-law who was near her, and said, 'What is this, daughter? I am so afraid that I shall lose my plant and its fruits.' She then lifted up her hands and wished to raise the plant and set it in its former place. She had not yet touched it when it fell down entirely and dropped into her hand. She felt much surprised at the strangeness of the thing, which she regarded, and not unnaturally, as an omen of some misfortune that awaited her family. Her fears indeed were by no means unfounded. At the end of a few days those five young men were taken who were thought to have been designated by the five fruits of this singular plant; and their dangerous cause, as she helped them with food while they were wandering in the woods, fell upon her, that is to say, brought ruin to herself and to her family."

It is curious to contrast the care with which in the time of which we are writing everything was committed to paper, and the neglect in after times of documents that would now be highly valued. The account of Babington's conspiracy written by Father Southwell, though it is a

subject so unlike anything else we have from his pen, we should be very glad to find. If it was printed, as Father Weston suggests, we have not been able to identify it.

Mrs. Bellamy's flower is not quite of the same historical importance, and of that there is another record. As even little things help us to enter into the feeling of the time, we copy it here. Father Christopher Grene says[1] that "the relations of Mr. George Stoker and Mr. Heath have as followeth: 'There was a gentlewoman called Mrs. Bellamy, who not long before that she with her three sons was taken, kneeling in her chamber, directly over her head, out of an old post, there sprung a flower with four pendants at it. She, lifting up her eyes by chance, saw it, and being amazed thereat called her daughter to see it also. The same flower not long after, as she was praying, fell upon her head, the which she took and put into a box. It is at this time in England, and hath been seen of many of good credit. The same gentlewoman was condemned by a wrong name, upon which consideration she could not be executed with the rest; but they kept her till the next sessions, in mind then to have executed her. In the meantime she died in the Tower.'" Though, as we have already seen,[2] the name of Catharine Bellamy was well known to Popham, Walsingham, and others, the widow was first indicted by the name of Elizabeth. This was in the general indictment[3] against the conspirators, which was found on Wednesday, September 7. The amended indictment against Catharine Bellamy, late of Harrow-on-the-Hill, for helping and receiving Babington and Barnwell on August 12, was found September 23; her son Jerome having been tried and convicted on the 15th of the same month, and executed on the 21st. We do not know whether the good widow lived to hear of Bartholomew's death under torture.

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *Catalogue of Martyrs*, p. 85.
[2] *Supra*, p. 48.
[3] *Fourth Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 277.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE IN THE CLINK.

"DURING the period of the above narrative of the year (as I believe) 1586, that is, a little before my own imprisonment, various events took place, not indeed of great consequence and yet perhaps not to be so despised as to deserve entire omission. In my travels, amongst other friends I came as a guest to the house of a Catholic man who was very old, a white-haired octogenarian. He had lived before the suppression and the destruction of the religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII., and had been servant or had filled some office in the monastery of Glastonbury.[1] In the overthrow of that house and church, when all the most sacred vessels of religion, and those things which should be the most kept from the profane, were being handled by sacrilegious fingers, among other things which he was able to seize and save as if from a conflagration, was a certain cross held sacred and venerable, not so much on account of its material, albeit adorned with gold and precious gems, as for the sake of the holy relics of saints which were inclosed within it. Above all, there was one of the nails with which the body of our Saviour was fastened to the

[1] Glastonbury seems to have been the only monastery where an effort was made to save the treasures of the Church from the hands of the spoiler. Richard Whiting, the Abbot, and two of the monks, were hanged on Tor Hill for this offence, Nov. 15, 1539. The commissioners reported, Sept. 28, "We have found the two treasurers of the church, monks, with the two clerks of the vestry, temporal men, in so arrant and manifest robbery, that we have committed the same to the gaol" (*Suppression of Monasteries*, Camden Society, p. 257). Perhaps this old man was one of the clerks of the vestry.

Cross. It was the general report and opinion that this had been brought into England by St. Joseph of Arimathea and his companions, and had been handed down as an inheritance by perpetual succession from age to age till it became considered as the settled property of the monastery at Glastonbury, where there was also a tradition that the body of the same St. Joseph, having been conveyed thither, had lain for some centuries, kept with the utmost veneration.

"Thus this nail came into the hands of the old man, and was kept by him, as may be imagined, with great devotion. The matter came in course of time to the hearing of Bishop Jewel, who held the see of Salisbury;[1] he obtained the needful authority from the Crown, and by an act of exceeding injustice took it away by force. What use he afterwards made of it, or where he placed it, is not known. I was unable therefore to see the nail itself, but the old man showed me the case, made of wood, in which it had been laid, and by reason of the softness of the material there still remained in the case an impression of the form of the nail wrought in the wood, and in that manner preserved. So far as I could conjecture, it must have been about a foot long, and in the upper part was of the thickness of a finger. The head was not, I believe, broad; lower down, however, it was wider than in the remaining part, and tapering by degrees to the end, which was marked out with four or five corners.

"The old man told me also of a remarkable miracle which had been accomplished a short time previously by the case of the nail or else the cross of which I spoke before (which of the two it was is not clear to my mind, but I rather think it was the former), and it was corroborated by the testimony of almost all those who dwell near. The miracle was this, that by the simple touch of

[1] John Jewel became Bishop of Salisbury in 1559 and died in 1571.

it a boy's wound, both large and deep, was suddenly healed.

"The house of the old man stood at the distance of three or four English miles from that ancient monastery, but scarcely one mile from the spot which, as tradition asserts, was chosen by St. Joseph and his companions as their habitation. The situation of this latter was on a mountain, and its old foundations and remains are still in existence. The old man told me that he often used to go up thither for the sake of devotion, mounting the hill not on his feet but upon his knees, and carrying with him the cross and the reliquary of the nail, 'to protect me,' he added, 'from the assaults of the spirits:' for there could be heard in that place howlings and groanings and lugubrious voices as of persons mourning, so that he imagined that there must be there some place of communication with the souls in Purgatory. His scrupulous devotion made him likewise keep a lamp perpetually burning in that portion of his house which looked towards the mountain. All these and many others besides were the wonderful stories narrated to me by that old man, so that I remained with him two days or more, feeling myself more taken and delighted by his conversation than I could have imagined.

"Leaving him, I went after some days to the house of a man of rank, who brought out to me a New Testament in a large volume made of parchment, all written with golden letters and great capitals most elegantly wrought, and adorned on both sides and distinguished with blue characters; the first letters of all the chapters were ornamented with the most singular and elaborate workmanship. This volume was ancient, and, through want of care, it is believed, some of the leaves at the beginning had been injured, and others entirely destroyed. In consequence I asked for the book, as I saw that its present place was neither suitable or sufficient

for so great a treasure, and he gave it to me. I requested him nevertheless to keep his present for me for a while, as I meant to come back after a short space, and convey it away to a better locality. Before however I could do this, my arrest took place, and I was shut up in prison.

"Not long after those days, it happened that a certain Catholic, overwhelmed with sorrow on account of his crimes, fell into so great a despair, that he resolved to attempt his own life, and the first thing that he did was to plunge a dagger, which he used to carry about with him, into his bosom. The wound was deep, but not mortal. He was travelling at the time with other associates, and on horseback. The pain made him dismount, though he alleged some other pretence; traces of much blood were perceived; his companions were amazed, and ran to his assistance; they conveyed him into a neighbouring city to be taken care of, and the wound was healed. He was restored to his health and his friends, but after four years, if I remember right, he was seized with an attack of the same melancholy, and thought it best to finish the matter at once, when there was no one near to interrupt him. He therefore shut himself up in the most distant and quiet part of the great house where he was living, in order to bring his deadly purpose to a close. He bethought himself of a very old and rusty knife, which he had hidden years before in some corner of that same place. He took it out, and with it so tore himself open that his bowels came out, and in the midst of those pains and tortures of death, he raised his voice in most lamentable cries, until he was heard by the persons who were far away in another part of the house. They rushed to his room, and beheld the frightful spectacle, a man, that is to say, covered with blood and his own entrails, shrieking out and asking for a confessor. It chanced that there was one ready in the house, through the providence of God, and life was just prolonged for

the sake of the soul of that unfortunate man until he had made a full and complete confession of his sins; after which he expired.

"To return now to the year 1587. At the end of five, or at the most, of six months (for I am going back now to the intended order of my narrative), when every intention of transferring me to the Tower of London had been set at rest, since out of the confessions of so many persons they had not been able to find a sufficient reason for charging me with any complicity with the acts and machinations of the conspirators, they took me away from the private house where I had been guarded, and cast me into the public prison called by the people the Clink, and together with me in the same cell they placed a priest whose name was Nicholas [Phipps or Felps, *alias*] Smith. There I remained in pretty close imprisonment for rather more than a year. There were in this same Clink many priests and gentlemen, and Catholics of a middling rank, besides criminals, thieves, and debtors.

"Among other persons, such is the injustice of the heretics, I found a Catholic man who had a wife and two children, and yet he had been kept and shut up there many years under the title and pretence of being a priest. Another prisoner was even a preacher of no small note among the Puritans, and almost a prophet, who was one day found by a Catholic in some solitary place diligently reading and poring over a small book. He was asked what book it was. He hardly liked to let it be seen, but it turned out to be an A B C book,[1] which taught the first elements of reading. The man explained sorrowfully that for eight years or more he had devoted himself to the study of it, and yet had never been able to succeed in arranging the letters into words, so as to spell them out, read, and pronounce them.

"This prison was in many ways far more convenient

[1] Abecedarium. *Orig.*

for me, since it was possible occasionally to hear the voices of Catholics and talk to them, although only by means of chinks and crevices in the walls. Sometimes also I had an opportunity of celebrating the Holy Mysteries, for from the lower room (which was inhabited by Catholics) in the dead of the night we were enabled to obtain vestments by a rope which was let down from our window, and in the early morning, before the warders and other prisoners were awake, we returned them in the same manner. It likewise came to pass (to my great and superabounding consolation) that on the night of our Lord's Nativity all the Catholic prisoners at the same time came to see me, so that, having heard their confessions, I celebrated three Masses, and made them all participate in the banquet of the Sacred Body of our Saviour; after which I dismissed them all safe and sound.

"Your Reverence would have been full of admiration both of their devotion and their tact in the management of affairs. There was indeed among them a certain man who had been formerly a heretic and a keeper of Catholic prisoners. This man excelled greatly in skill and ingenuity. Besides other devices, he had a clever contrivance for opening locked doors and shutting them up again securely. So he went through all the rooms and opened them, mine he also of course unlocked, and thus they were all introduced, and we were able to spend the whole night together to our great joy.

"The greater part of this year was spent by me in perpetual expectation of death, and although it was told me by some persons that the sovereign herself had declared her firm conviction that Edmonds (meaning myself) had no part whatever in the conspiracy, nevertheless there were daily rumours flying about which asserted that on such a day I should be brought before a public tribunal, which would certainly end in my receiving sentence of death. This information was brought

to me so often that I was never long without it, and used to spend days and nights in meditation upon death. There were not wanting to me friends who pleaded in my behalf with their patrons, the courtiers and chief men of State around the Queen. No one nevertheless, however great a favourite, was bold enough to intercede for me with the sovereign. One of them said: 'If it had been a case of theft, homicide, piracy, or anything of that kind, I should not be afraid of asking or of obtaining; but in an affair which relates to Jesuits like this, I can do nothing, and am afraid.'

"Others tried to release me from captivity and save my life by sums of money, which, when it was related to me, I wrote immediately to Father Robert Southwell that in every possible way he might try and prevent it; for it did not seem to me an honourable proceeding, particularly for a disciple of the Society (so many of whose members do not hesitate every day throughout all parts of the world to hazard their lives for the salvation of souls), that for a paltry sum of money my confession of faith should be obscured ignominously, as it appeared to me, for I felt as though I could never again have looked men in the face freely and confidently with such a stain of cowardice and degeneracy of mind burnt into me and degrading me. Not that I was free from fear of death, or did not appreciate liberty. I was very much afraid of dying, and should have welcomed liberty with open arms; but the idea remained always in my mind that such a mode of liberation was contemptible, and that it would be singularly unworthy of those times which had been rendered illustrious by the confession of so many martyrs."

That which Father Weston here tells of himself, is related more precisely in the *Life of the Earl of Arundel*.[1] "When he was first taken, and put prisoner in the Clink,

[1] P. 27.

the Countess of Arundel went in disguise to visit him, and offering by means of money to procure his banishment, as was usual in those times, his answer was, as she herself told me, that he was not committed to prison for money, so neither would he be released by money, but expect till either God, or they by whose authority he was deprived of his liberty, should of their own accord set him free." Father Weston says that he wrote to Father Robert Southwell to hinder this plan for his liberation, which shows that the Countess continued for awhile to entertain the idea.

"I also received letters," he says, "encouraging me to martyrdom from the same Father Robert and from Father John Cornelius, both of them now themselves martyrs of the Society. For what end God has preserved me hitherto, I know not. He who preserved me knows well, and as it has been His will so far, may He continue to preserve me.

"Frequent visits meanwhile were made by the magistrates to this prison, and many were the investigations. One of them entered the cell of a certain priest with a design to examine it; and either from his own hand or from that of his attendant, let one or two hosts fall upon the ground. Then, as if he had known nothing of the fraud, he turned round, looked at them, and said: 'Are these the sort of things you do here? They must no longer be tolerated. This is not all, we may be sure; but only a token of other things which you have here, and of what you presume to do in disobedience to the laws and proclamations.' He forthwith began a search, and went straight up to the very spot where all the vestments and the furniture for the altar were hidden away, together with a silver chalice. On a single board being taken up, everything was of necessity seen, and carried from the place. He knew where to look before he came in, having received information from a person

concerning whom I shall have more to say presently, and who had been formerly admitted there for the purpose of celebrating Mass.

"Not contented with his spoil, he returned to my room, and began to look round and to move things out of their places. Then he said: 'I sometimes find chalices lying hid amongst the bricks of the fire-places.' Drawing a poignard which hung by his side, he began to feel with it. The result, however, did not answer his expectations, although I had in reality a silver chalice then laid under the hearth-stone. If one brick were removed, there was a hollow place under the fire and a heap of wood. This cavity was most useful for concealing things because, when covered up and sprinkled over with ashes, it would escape the notice of any one, unless he were very careful and prepared beforehand.

"After having been molested with these and similar annoyances, and with uncertain messages of death, they sent for me one day through an official, and I was taken out of prison to a house where many commissioners and persons appointed to examine into my cause were assembled together, in company with a notary. They again went over all the heads of the former examination, excepting the affair of Babington. They inquired my name, the condition of my parents, the place where I was born, where I was educated. 'Was it in England? Was it abroad? Where had I studied? Where had I become a priest and a religious? Through whose command had I returned into England? Where had I been? Whom had I known? At whose houses had I said Mass? Whom had I reconciled to the Church? Whose confessions had I heard?' To all these interrogations I replied with brevity and ease, confessing all such things as might be revealed without injury to others, denying those which they had no right to press me upon, and which I could not, without sin, betray to them.

"They first of all brought out a Bible, written in the vulgar tongue, to make me swear upon it that I would answer sincerely and honourably to every question. In the beginning I declined the book. 'Yet you will swear,' said one of them, 'if we bring you a copy of Jerome's works.' 'By no means,' I replied; 'neither by that nor by any other oath will I bind myself; and you, being laymen, cannot lawfully make me swear, as I am an ecclesiastic, nor can you judge me at your tribunals. I am exempted from them by my privileges, and I shall use my rights; nor is there any occasion to be so disturbed about an oath, for I am ready to do anything save in those matters by which religion would be offended; and moreover, my word shall be as firm as any oath.'

"From these beginnings they went on (if I remember right) to different things. They asked me what I thought of the justice of the excommunication of the Queen by the Bull of Pius V. I said that I had never seen the Bull, nor heard all that it contained. They here pressed me very hard, and insisted much, doing all that was possible to get some explanation from me, but in vain.

"At that time there reigned a perpetual rumour and a vivid expectation and fear of the Spanish fleet, that was said to be preparing for a voyage in the ensuing year. Upon this subject they questioned me with the closest curiosity. 'Did I know anything about it? Had I heard of its approach? Was I a party to it in any way? What should I do, when it was already near the coasts of England? Whose side should I take? Which party should I defend?' I made answer that the report which was spread abroad had certainly come to my hearing, but with regard to having any correspondence with the Spaniards by letters or secret messages, there was absolutely nothing of which they could accuse me with any justice; but as to declaring which side I should prefer, particularly as I was ignorant of the causes of the war, it

was impossible for me to attempt it. Whether the war should be proclaimed for the purpose of restoring the Catholic religion, or for any other reasons just or unjust, it was clear that I should not have either the wish or the power to take up arms and fight: it would be no business of mine. They said: 'We know that very well; but what advice would you give? Whom would you follow if they came to fight for a matter of religion?' I replied: 'Rest assured that in that case I should do nothing contrary to religion; of that I am resolved already. What I should really do is not for me to say, so various and changeable are the thoughts of men; and it is not just or right that a man should be reckoned a criminal because of some future event, when there is nothing to charge him with at the present time.'

"Still they ceased not to turn the matter over in every possible way, bringing into the argument various forms of speech and inventions of possible contingencies which, though, of course, they sometimes happen, may very possibly not happen at all; and upon the ground of an hypothesis they required and urged me to give a clear and plain answer, when they would have turned my words into a crime, just as if the facts themselves had existed. This examination was continued during three or four hours. On this occasion many subjects besides the above were brought into dispute; in particular, the execution of the Queen of Scots, and the injury that Catholics had received from it, insomuch that now they are thoroughly cast down from all hope of seeing their Faith on the throne, and of enjoying their religion which they seek after so earnestly and desire so strongly. This is a summary of all their interrogations and of my replies.

"They sent me back to my prison, where I gave myself up entirely to my former exercises of meditation and preparation for death, expecting each moment to be hurried away to a tribunal and to judgment, and such

was the expressed opinion of all and what they looked for. As Catholics were naturally full of curiosity to be acquainted with every article of my examination, I satisfied their anxiety as well as I could by slipping written papers through fissures and apertures. The other prisoners, both near me and elsewhere, were full of similar expectations for themselves ere long, and imagined that they would be interrogated in the same manner.

"Nevertheless, in the midst of all those trials which befell Catholics day by day, including punishments and death, there was not wanting some consolation. Three of the family of our keeper himself were converted to the Faith, so were also one among the minor officials on guard, a woman advanced in years, and a girl who, abandoning her former master, devoted herself hence-forward to the service of Catholics.

"In this very year it was my lot to hold a disputation with a certain Doctor of the University, of the name of Andrewes, a man of considerable reputation among them, who is now, as I hear, the so-called Bishop of Ely.[1] I was summoned out of prison and conducted to a certain place where it was said to me by the person who had desired me to be sent for: 'We want you to hold a controversy with this learned man and to discuss your opinions with him, to see if he can make any impression on you. No one will interrupt you: all your questions and difficulties you can treat of by yourselves alone.' I made answer: 'If it is only for my sake that this controversy is to be entered upon, there is no reason why I should admit of it, since I have not the smallest doubt or hesitation in any matter little or great with respect to faith. In affairs like these the dispute should be held in the Universities or public places, that the disguise of a false religion may be torn away in presence of those

[1] Lancelot Andrewes became Bishop of Chichester in 1605, of Ely in 1609, of Winchester in 1618, and died in 1626.

who live in error, and the real truth may be displayed before them freely and openly, without any veil of dissimulation.' 'In no way,' replied the other, 'would such a course be desirable, for so you would have an opportunity of seducing many, but if you wish that seven or eight of your own people should meet in my house, together with an equal number from the other side, you shall find either here or elsewhere both place and books.' 'But who are to be the judges or the auditors?" I inquired; 'for unless those who are to judge or hear belong to both the parties concerned, the truth will be oppressed and lie, as it were, buried. However, be it so,' I added, 'let them come as you have said; and let faithful notaries be summoned who will honourably receive and write down the words, the opinions, the arguments of all the contending parties. It will not be difficult to find persons who will undertake the business, and joyfully offer themselves to have a share in the contest.' This he did not like, but said in conclusion: 'At all events in the meantime you can have your disputation, you two together, and a conference with each other.' He then departed, leaving us alone with the doors closed.

"I said that there was no occasion for me to learn from him as a master or teacher those things which I had learned already from faith and the authority of the Church. If he wished to ask me anything since we were alone, I added, let him say what he would. Our discussion fell upon sacramental confession and the interpretation of the Scriptures. Whether we talked about any other subject I do not well remember; without doubt there were several articles proposed between us, for we remained there about four hours. And with regard to those two first questions, he admitted at last that he did not allow in the interpretation of Scripture the inconstant and fallacious spirit of private persons. In speaking of confession, he did not disapprove of the use

of it, and thought it not only lawful in itself, but allowed that it was a practice that he was not altogether without experience of. Though this Doctor was a Puritan, it seems he tolerated a certain form of confession; indeed his temper of mind, as some say, was not entirely in opposition to the Catholic faith.

"I cannot repeat the remainder of our conversation, for, with the exception of those two points, Confession, and the Holy Scripture, my memory a good deal fails me. The reason for this meeting was at first unknown to me. It appeared to me strange that I should have been called up to so solitary an interview, not a single witness or judge being present. However, two days after I had been sent back to prison, there came to me, with the gaoler's permission, a certain person quite unknown to me, whether a Catholic or a heretic I know not, certainly in a benevolent and friendly spirit. He said to me: 'Perhaps you are not aware of the motive for procuring your conversation with Dr. Andrewes. While you were disputing there were in reality two priests present, who were placed near at hand and were able to hear everything that you said, and they were so moved and agitated that they could scarcely refrain from breaking forth from their hiding-place, confessing openly to you their want of constancy, and making amends for their error by a manifest and avowed return to their faith. These men had been overcome through fear of torments and the terror of death, and had vacillated in their faith. One of them (if I am not mistaken, and I think that I am not) underwent an illustrious martyrdom for the Faith: the other's name was Anthony Tyrrell, the person about whom I promised above to give a more lengthened notice. His story is as follows.

"This same Anthony was arrested a short time before Babington and thrown into prison, into that which is generally known as 'the Poultry.'[1] There, as he was not

[1] Tyrrell was not in the Counter in the Poultry, but in the prison of the same name in Wood Street.

a man of much constancy, he began to show symptoms of vacillation, being influenced partly by gentleness and the hope of liberty, partly through fear of torture. There were in the same prison some Catholic prisoners, who, after carefully observing him, did not consider it as a good sign that he received so many visits from heretics, and conversed so much with them. They also discovered after awhile that he admitted and kept by him heretical books, a Bible written in the vulgar tongue, and the Institutes of Calvin, which circumstance strengthened much further their opinion that his courage was waxing feeble and faint.

"In the course of some months he was removed from that place and brought to our prison[1] where I was then detained a close prisoner, and together with me several Catholics, many of whom were young gentlemen in trouble on account of Babington's conspiracy. All of these, after collecting from every side tokens and signs that there were just grounds for suspicion, began some to decline his acquaintance, some to take precautions when in company with him. For in the first place, when there was no call or necessity for so doing, he always retained his secular dress. When he found himself at table the only priest among many secular Catholics he could not be induced to say grace. It was likewise remarked that the book-marks in his Breviary, that indicated the Office for the current day, were not rightly placed. His friendship and familiarity with heretics were such as to produce a general suspicion that his behaviour was not so sincere and holy as became a priest, and it was felt that these external relations were not suitable to a man who was maintaining a conflict in prison for the

1 "Counter in Wood Street. Anthony Tyrrell, pr., moved by Mr. Young, the 13th of September [1586]." P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv. n. 34. His admission into the Clink seems to have been four days later. *Supra*, p. 179.

Catholic faith, and in presence of so many persons both Catholics and heretics.

"He did not continue long to mislead those who surrounded him: for after no great interval of time he left both his prison and his religion, went over to the side of the heretics, and was presented with his liberty. In the room he left there dwelt at the same time a certain Catholic who, considering the manners of the man, searched carefully to see whether he could find any letters or notes written by him or by other persons to him. He fell upon one spot where lay hidden some letters of William Cecil and his answers to them, but very much torn and in disorder. He brought these letters to me, and asked me what had better be done, in order that after such great and evident perfidy he might stand convicted, for Anthony concealed his treachery as much as possible, and did not wish to appear as though he had sinned against religion. I bade him unite together the fragments of the letters and so to arrange them upon a gummed sheet of paper that they might be read; then to send them to the Marshalsea prison, in which, besides other sufferers, there were also some priests in captivity, so that they might send for the man and expostulate with him in the first place about his faithlessness and treachery in conspiring with heretics, and at the same time persuade him to return to his former profession as soon as possible. If he should confidently persist in denying his crime, I exhorted them to show him his correspondence with Cecil, and thus close his shameless lips by such plain evidence against him.

"They therefore invited Tyrrell to visit them, and laid before his eyes the foulness of his sin against God, against men and his own conscience. Still he did not seem to be moved until they showed him his letters and convinced him by his own handwriting, when his pertinacity gave

way and he abandoned his falsehood. Finding himself detected he promised to return to the Church, to renounce his engagements with the heretics, do penance in earnest, and make just restitution, so far as it could be done to those whom he had injured by his perfidious accusations. All this he afterwards accomplished, and in a long writing[1] he manifested the whole history of his previous frauds and the causes of his ruin. He also cleared many persons of false and unjust accusations, and as to myself he made all things fair and freed me from sundry suspicions.

"Since the rumour of this scandal had been spread far and wide, and nothing was more notorious in the mouths of all men than the public renunciation of the Catholic faith by Tyrrell the priest, it was judged that there could be no place so appropriate and no time so suitable for its accomplishment as St. Paul's Cross, on the occasion of some public sermon delivered there before the people. When therefore the day and the hour approached on which this event was appointed to take place, John Reynolds ascended the pulpit intending to use as the material of his oration and triumph (as he imagined) the abjuration of the perfidious priest. Near him Tyrrell also mounted, though for a very different and opposite purpose, having not only no design of speaking against the Faith, but being resolved to make a renunciation of his heresy and errors and to confess openly his treachery and the reasons of his fall. When therefore he had begun to express his sorrow for his transgressions, to promise that during the remaining course of his life he would never by word or action offend the cause of religion, and to declare these things aloud in presence of the people, the heretics seeing into what a contrary channel from what they expected the tide of affairs was turning, laid hands on him, drew him

[1] Tyrrell's letter to the Queen, in Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 425.

away, thrust him out of the pulpit. What did Tyrrell do then? Since it was impossible for him to explain to his auditors his full mind and meaning, he drew out of his bosom many sheets of paper which contained the whole history of his case[1] and scattered them among the people, so that from their hands and eyes they might receive that information which they were debarred from gathering by means of his voice from the pulpit. For he had foreseen how unlikely it would be that they should allow him to carry on his harangue through to the end; he had therefore prepared his papers in readiness to act as a substitute for uttered words.

"From the pulpit he was eagerly hurried off to prison and shut in there; they loaded him with irons and tormented him in a thousand ways. What am I now to say? Unhappily things went wrong again. Not bearing such severity he fell a prey to the craft of Satan, and gave himself up a second time to the heretics, allured by the hope of pardon and an excessive love of liberty. When set free he again returned to the Catholics, deploring his inconstancy. They then, as they had good reason to fear that he would never be able to live in England free from the snares of the heretics, arranged for him that he should cross the water, so that living in security amongst Catholics he might pass the rest of his life beyond the reach of further danger. He consequently set sail and reached the harbour in safety; but not content with this, the fickle and unhappy man came back again in a few days, and being convicted once more, he acted as minister at the sacrilegious tables of the heretics till he was an old man. At length (as I have heard lately) he was rescued from them by the diligence, admonitions, and fervent prayers of his brother, who was a Catholic and a most devout man, and so in the end he returned to God and the most secure harbour of salvation. That he might do

[1] Palinodia Antonii Tyrrelli, *Concertatio*, after fol. 213, sig. E 4.

this more safely he passed over into Belgium, and there in the peace and unity of the Church slept in our Lord."

As the singular life of Anthony Tyrrell will be treated apart in the present volume, it is not necessary here to add any notes to Father Weston's accurate narrative. But though the same matter will be told at greater length, and in more minute detail, it has been thought better to leave this story as it stands in this place, in order not to interfere with the integrity of the autobiography of Father Weston.

CHAPTER XIV.

BETWEEN TWO PRISONS.

"THE year '88 now appeared, in which preparations and warlike equipments were made on no small scale both by sea and land to oppose the Spanish fleet which was then declared to be near at hand in full force. The Queen's Councillors therefore deemed it to be but a part of their prudent duty to meet in arms an armed and foreign foe, unless they could also provide with anxious forethought against all fear and danger from internal enemies. And as the entire body of Catholics formed a perpetual subject of uneasiness to them, they brought it about as far as present circumstances would permit that a good number of Catholics, both priests and laymen, should be kept out of the way in prison, for fear that, if an opportunity were granted them, they might join forces with the enemy.

"This intention was made notorious, and the command was received first by the priests who were detained in London; not indeed by all, only by some, and of that number I was myself one. A messenger came to me, sent from the Council, telling me that it was the Queen's

pleasure and that of the lords of the Council that I should go to Wisbech Castle, and that within a few days. I asked, 'At whose expense?' He replied, 'At your own.' But leave was given me that, during two or three days, in company with a keeper, I might visit my friends and provide all things necessary for the journey. I did not want for money, and gladly seized the opportunity, in particular for the sake of divers persons who had not courage to come and visit me in the prison, and yet were exceedingly anxious to see me and converse with me.

"On the succeeding day I set out, having changed my habit for secular clothes, and in the first place I visited all those Catholics who were detained in the different prisons, both priests and laymen, not without great joy and congratulation on either side. While I was thus employed in visiting my friends, there came to me a messenger on the part of a certain illustrious and noble lady, requesting me by no means to omit arranging an interview with her before my departure. I answered that there would be no difficulty in the matter; adding, however, 'I have with me for my companion a keeper who is always watching me, and never permits me to go anywhere without his presence.' The messenger said to me: 'That will never do;' for the lady, in truth, was of more than ordinary rank. 'Do your very best to be set free from him for a few hours, and come alone, if it be possible; if otherwise, do not trouble yourself further about it.' I told him that there was no great difficulty in trying the man, but that any hope of succeeding in the attempt was small indeed. We went out, therefore, from that place (which was one of the prisons) and went on to visit other persons. As soon as we were alone I said to John (this was the name of my keeper), 'A friend has just sent word to me that without any manner of excuse I am to go and see him as speedily as possible.' 'Well,' replied the man, 'you can go when you please.' I replied: 'But I do not wish to have you

with me as a companion and witness.' 'That must not be,' he said; 'it is as much as my life is worth, for the eyes of many persons are on us, and if you were to escape from me after my receiving such a strict command to guard you safely, all the danger will fall upon me. I cannot grant you such a liberty.' I reminded him that he had experienced already my nature and fidelity, and that it was not my way to requite with a bad return such persons as had rendered me a service. Then I produced an angel[1] (a golden coin of the value of twenty reals), and continued: 'See here; this will be yours if you will grant me that which I ask of you; and you need have no fear about losing favour.' 'I dare not,' he replied, 'I dare not.' He had hardly, however, gone six paces further when he broke out into the following expressions: 'When will you be back again, or where shall I find you when you have finished with your friend?' Such was the effect the gold produced. I said that it was for him to settle that matter according to his own convenience; as for me, I was ready at any hour or in any place to meet him.

"It is not without reason that I mention these details, however unimportant they may seem; for they helped to obtain for me not only the presence and sight of Father Robert Southwell,[2] and a long interview with him, and the means of visiting other illustrious personages; but it enabled me to supply comfort to a certain soul that was labouring in extreme sorrow, and to afford it a remedy for its salvation. For there lay in a certain heretical house a Catholic, who, with the consent of his keeper, had come to London for the completion of some urgent business. He had been committed to a prison in the country, a good way out of London. He was seized, however, and over-

[1] The angel was worth 10*s*. The real, the Spanish sixpence. *Johnson.*

[2] Father Southwell lived with Anne Countess of Arundel, who is no doubt the "lady of more than ordinary rank," whom Father Weston visited. She was living then, it would seem, at Arundel House, near Somerset House, in the Strand. *Life of the Countess of Arundel and Surrey*, pp. 192, 196.

powered by a long sickness, which brought him near to death. The woman who nursed him, being a Catholic, had diligently searched the whole city through to find a priest, but in vain; she then sent word to me of the peril of that person, and entreated me, if it could be contrived, to come to his assistance, as he was almost giving up the ghost. I went to him when the little piece of gold obtained for me the liberty to do so. I explained that I was a priest (for I was dressed like a layman), and that I had come to hear his confession. 'If that is the reason why you have come, it is in vain,' he said; 'the time for it is passed away.' I said to him: 'What! are you not a Catholic? If you are, you know what you have to do. This hour, which seems to be your last, has been given you that by making a good and sincere confession you may, while there is time, wash away the stains of your past life, whatever they are.' He answered: 'I tell you that you have come too late; that time has gone by. The judgment is decided; the sentence has been pronounced; I am condemned and given up to the enemy; I cannot hope for pardon.' 'That is false,' I answered, 'and it is a most fearful error to imagine that a man still in life can assert that he is already deprived of God's goodness and abandoned by His grace, in such a way that even when he desires and implores mercy it should be denied him. Since your faith teaches you that God is infinitely merciful, you are to believe with all certitude that there is no bond so straitly fastened but the grace of God can unloose it, no obstacle but grace has power to surmount it.' 'But do you not see,' he asked me, 'how full of evil spirits this place is, where we are? There is no corner or crevice in the walls where there are not more than a thousand of the most dark and frightful demons who, with their fierce faces, horrid looks, and atrocious words, threaten perpetually that they are just going to carry me into the abyss of misery. Why, even my very body and

entrails are filled with these hateful guests, who are lacerating my body and torturing my soul with such dreadful cruelty and anguish that it seems as if I were not so much on the point merely of going there, as that I am already devoted and made over to the flames and agonies of hell. Wherefore it is clear that God has abandoned me for ever, and has cast me away from all hope of pardon.'

"When I had listened in trembling to all these things, and to much more of a similar kind, and saw at the same time that death was coming fast upon him, and that he would not admit of any advice or persuasion, I began to think within myself, in silence and anxiety, what would be the wisest course to choose. There entered into my mind, through the inspiration, doubtless, of God, the following most useful plan and method of dealing with him. 'Well, then,' I said, 'if you are going to be lost, I do not require a confession from you; nevertheless, recollect yourself just for a moment, and with a quiet mind answer me in a few words, either yes or no, to the questions that I put to you; I ask for nothing else, and put upon you no other burden.' Then I began to question him, and to follow the order of the Commandments: first, whether he had denied his faith. 'See,' I said, 'do not worry yourself; say just those simple words, yes or no.' As soon as he had finished either affirming or denying anything, I proceeded through four or five Commandments, whether he had killed any one, stolen anything, &c.? When he had answered with tolerable calmness I said to him: 'What are the devils doing now? What do you feel or suffer from them?' He replied: 'They are quieter with me; they do not seem to be so furious as they were before.' 'Lift up your soul to God,' I said, 'and let us go on to the rest.' In the same fashion and order I continued to question him about other things; then I inquired again, saying: 'How is it now?' He replied: 'Within I am not tormented; the devils stand

at a distance; they throw stones, they make dreadful faces at me, and threaten me horribly; I do not think that I shall escape.' Going forward as before, I allured and encouraged the man by degrees, till every moment he became more reasonable, and at last made an entire confession of all his sins; after which I gave him absolution, and asked him what he was suffering from his cruel and harassing enemies. 'Nothing,' he said; 'they have all vanished: there is not a trace of them, thanks be to God.' Then I went away, after strengthening him by a few words and encouraging him beforehand against temptations which might return. I promised at the same time that I would be with him on the morrow, and meant to bring the most Sacred Body of Christ with me, and warned him to prepare himself diligently for the receiving of so excellent a banquet. The whole following night he passed without molestation from the enemy, and on the next day he received with great tranquillity of mind the most Holy Sacrament, after which, at an interval of a few hours, without disturbance, he breathed forth his soul, and quietly gave it up to God. Before he died I asked the man what cause had driven him into such desperation of mind. He answered me thus: 'I was detained in prison many years for the Catholic faith, nevertheless I did not cease to sin and to conceal my sins from my confessor, being persuaded by the devil that pardon must be sought for from God rather by penances and severity of life than by confession. Hence I either neglected my confessions altogether or else made insincere ones, and so I fell into that melancholy of mind and that state of tribulation which has been my punishment.'

"How extraordinary may be the effects produced by a mind in the agitations of terror and consciousness of wrong may in truth be well gathered from those events narrated above, but it will be yet further proved by what will next be described. When the Queen on one occasion

for the sake of diverting herself made a progress through the county of Norfolk, all the inhabitants of that county, noble and simple, vied with each other in giving her the most splendid reception that was possible; some, that they might win her grace and favour, others, that they might not lose it; others in short, particularly Catholics, that they might not incur still further their sovereign's displeasure and aversion. Her journey being at an end, when, after many congratulations, festivities, shows, and triumphant pageantries, the Queen had departed, and when they were expecting many graces and privileges in reward for their homage and dutiful service, she at length commanded that all those Catholics who had not as yet submitted to frequent the churches, if they still refused, should be sent to prison. Great was the trouble and anxious the deliberations of all of them to decide what was best to be done.

"Concerning the others I say nothing: the case of one person alone I mean to commemorate, which, although I believed it before as an undoubted fact through the evidence of many persons, was, however, later on related to me by the lips of the very man himself when he came once to visit us at Wisbech. It is as follows. 'That proclamation,' he said, 'did not touch me lightly, but lay like a weight upon my mind. It was not merely my own happiness that was at stake: my wife, my children, my establishment, all were in danger unless I obeyed the command. On the other hand, if I were to obey, dishonour would await me, and the infamy attached to cowardice and degeneracy of mind; the offence against God, and the inevitable danger to my soul. To increase my trepidation,' he added, 'there came upon me likewise the persuasions of my friends and their entreaties (I mean those friends who are wise rather according to the world than towards God), exaggerating the transitory goods of this life, and showing me how rash and lamentable

a thing it would be to refuse for the sake of one visit to church the avoidance of so many evils. So at length,' he went on, 'although I saw what was the better counsel, I followed the worse one, and I determined for once to do violence to my conscience, and to break through my difficulties. When, therefore, the festival day came on which it was necessary for me to be present, I entered the church, a strange new-fangled place to me, as for many years I had not been there. Soon my bowels began to be tormented, a fire seemed presently to be lighted in them which gave me vehement pain, so that, as the flame ascended to my breast and penetrated the region round my heart, I thought that I was broiling and consuming in an infernal conflagration. Neither did the fire cease here, but it gained my head and raised itself far above my head so that several times I lifted up my hand to feel whether what I felt were a real flame or no. At length I seemed to myself to be all on fire and burning; and what I was to do I did not know, for to bear those flames any longer was intolerable to me, but to go out and quit that pestilent assembly while the service was only half over, would have undone all my trouble and reduced me to a still worse position than before.' He held on therefore, controlling both himself and his sufferings with courage, until the profane prayers were concluded; but after he had left, it seemed to him as if he was carrying about with him an unbearable inward hell, and he was oppressed with such a thirst that its intensity made him take refuge in the nearest tavern. There he ordered some drink to be brought to him, and emptied so many tankards that, although it sounds incredible, he swallowed eight gallons and more without suffering any inconvenience or sickness, all that liquor being quickly consumed and absorbed in his interior, just as though it had been poured down into an extremely deep furnace. Notwithstanding all this he had not

succeeded in extinguishing the secret fire within him. He returned home in despair, with a sorrowful countenance and an aching heart. His wife perceived how he was changed, and asked him what had happened to pain him. Then he explained the whole affair to her, what he had suffered in the heretical meeting, and how great was the oppression both of body and mind under which he was labouring even at that time. The lady being not only an excellent Catholic, but most warmly attached to her husband, tried to console him by all that lay in her power, and excited him to hope for better times; furthermore, which was still better, she sent for a priest with all speed that, by the infusion of the grace of the Holy Spirit, he might heal the sickness of his mind. Every day his condition became easier and pleasanter. At length, after he was quite restored to health, he went to visit the so-called Bishop of that place, and related to him how he had done his best to satisfy the wishes of his sovereign, though against his conscience, how he had attended the church, and what he had suffered while therein. He concluded by saying: 'Know now, that I am not only sorry for what I have done, but I am firmly resolved never on any account to go to church again.' The Bishop was not at all moved by his narrative, nor did he show the slightest compassion for the man, but committed him forthwith to prison, where he continued during four whole years with great constancy of mind, though the loss of his liberty was a less evil than the injury to his family affairs.

"Likewise, since it bears upon my subject, I should wish to mention what was told me concerning her son by the above-mentioned gentleman's wife, who was a very meritorious good Catholic woman. This, her son by a former husband, received a summons from a certain magistrate to appear before him. He was questioned about his faith and religion, and after bravely confessing

that he was a Catholic, he was detained for three days in the magistrate's house, with nothing to eat, so that, being worn out and tamed by hunger, he might be compelled to eat meat on days when it was prohibited by the Church. At length the magistrate sent him to the University of Cambridge, and put him into the hands of a most cruel master, who not only with every species of art and fraud, but by violence also and menaces might compel him to attend the church. And when the youth with a strong and undaunted mind made resistance, he was so severely beaten that he well-nigh lost his reason. On hearing this, his mother undertook the journey to see her son. When admitted into his room, she found him ill in bed and not altogether right in his mind: perceiving also that his shirt was all covered with blood from his wounds, she could not suppress her sorrow and tears. With some difficulty she was allowed to take him home with her, and many months elapsed before he was restored to himself and to soundness of body and mind.

"In that same town of Wisbech there were two boys born of poor parents, whom the keeper of the prison admitted within the wall, that they might be useful as servants to the prisoners detained there. In the course of some months, those boys learned so much about the Catholic religion that by degrees they left their heresy which they had imbibed in infancy, attached themselves to Catholic doctrine, and left off frequenting the churches and profane rites of the heretics. When the governor of the place received information of this, he fixed upon a certain festival day, and commanded the boys to be present at the heretical sermon. This they refused. He then had them cruelly flogged in the market-place in presence of all the people, and put them in irons. Being afterwards set free, one of them escaped to Belgium, was received as a student in the Colleges

at Douay, and so improved in learning and a character for virtue that he was admitted to Holy Orders, and is labouring at present in the English vineyard.[1]

"The other was captured a second time and thrust into the prison at Ely, where for many months he endured a painful life in the midst of various hardships. At length he was brought to trial in company with several criminals, and was indicted upon the sole ground of his being a Catholic. 'You, indeed,' said some one, 'wanting to be a Catholic, when you have never so much as seen a Mass, and do not know what this sect means. Who could it ever have been who drove you into such folly?' The others meanwhile began to mock him and turn him into ridicule, seeing how very young he was to do such a thing. He replied: 'It is true, as you say, that I have not seen much, nor heard much concerning the Catholic faith; and, as you see, I am young enough and not well practised or brought up in it; but this one thing I know well and understand, that it is the only faith for salvation, and much more ancient than your new religion, yea, and older by many centuries.' They said to him: 'How can you, an ignorant boy, tell what is oldest? You are deceiving yourself.' 'It is not I,' he replied, 'but your own chroniclers, and a man of your own profession and one of your ministers, Holinshed, I mean, who asserts as much plainly in his chronicle.' They all denied that there was anything of the kind in Holinshed's book. 'Indeed there is,' he replied. 'I am telling no lie; I know what I am talking of:' and at the same time he produced from his bosom a great leaf torn out from Holinshed's Chronicle, and continued: 'Now to begin with, recognize your man by his name: then, if your please, read the words that are contained in

[1] In the list of boys attending the prisoners at Wisbech we find Thomas and George Fisher; and George Fisher entered the English College at Rome in 1601. There is no such name in the Douay ordination list.

this torn leaf.' When they had openly read the page, they were sorry and much ashamed of what they had done; for it contained a description of the entrance of St. Augustine, the Apostle of England, with the cross, litanies, relics, and all the other tokens of a Catholic ceremonial. A Catholic prisoner in Wisbech had torn this leaf out of his own book, a very large volume, and had admonished the boy to preserve it carefully, so that when he should be brought to trial for his faith, he need assert nothing else with regard to his religion, or say anything besides, but satisfy himself with showing that torn leaf to the judges. This was done by the youth very opportunely, both as to time and place: and he so put them to confusion, that they did not know what they ought to say in reply. For the writer of the book was one of their most approved authorities, and a most clear witness for the extreme antiquity of the Catholic faith.

"The assizes of the island of Ely are held usually twice in the year, and the judges' courts are made ready in our prison. On one of these occasions two men and a woman were condemned for some crime to the punishment of death and remanded to prison while they awaited their execution. These persons received from some of our number an explanation of the Catholic religion; and the truth of it was laid before them, together with its supreme necessity, if they wished to avoid eternal punishment and obtain eternal blessedness. Without any very great difficulty they were persuaded to become Catholics, and to obtain pardon of their sins by confession. To obtain access to the woman was more difficult; but the two men employed much zeal and diligence in rendering their aid. As she was near them they were able, through the chinks of the partition wall, to suggest things which were necessary for belief, in particular, the authority of the Catholic Church and the purification of the conscience by the

Sacrament of Penance, which things when she had eagerly taken in and thoroughly understood, she began to think of every art and method by which she might comply with the precept of confession, as the men had already done; neither, by God's assistance, was she left without a suitable opportunity, considering the shortness of the time. For since, on her part, she made use of all industry and fervour she obtained the satisfaction of her desire. The fatal hour was at hand, and they were summoned to execution by the ministers. Then, in order to make an open demonstration to the people who were spectators that they were Catholics and meant to die as such, they all placed upon their necks the linen shrouds that had been given to them by Catholics for their burial and so arranged them upon their breasts as to produce the form of the Cross; and that the religion of the Cross might appear still more evident to all, they contrived to insert black bows of ribbon on these shrouds. They went out of the inclosure of the prison giving signs of their devotion not only by words and demonstrations but with tears and sighs that betrayed their piety, an infinite multitude of persons being present and admiring them. Without intermission they were visibly deploring the crimes of their past life, and they vehemently lamented that it was so late before they had understood the salutary doctrine that alone leads to eternal life. Three times or more, before they reached the scaffold, they all knelt down and prayed a long while with abundance of tears. Some among the heretics wished to hinder them, saying that so many and such evident signs of Popery ought not to be tolerated in public. Others, however, and indeed the great number, ceased not to defend and praise them and to wish that such fruits of penitence might be bestowed upon themselves by God. The criminals, in truth, seemed to make no end of testifying their faith and shedding tears. When

they arrived at the place of punishment they emulated each other in repeating everything with yet greater fervour of soul and piety, to the amazement of the standers-by, so that no one scarcely could help pitying them. At length when the ropes had been placed around their necks and they had finished speaking, they put to their lips beads which Catholics had given them for the sake of gaining the indulgence attached to them, and these they swallowed in presence of all the people.[1] Then being turned off the ladders they exchanged this miserable life, as all hoped and declared, for that blessed and happy one beyond. This event being reported everywhere, came to the ears of the Queen's Councillors, who gave a severe reprimand to the chief gaoler of that prison because he suffered such things to go on in public."

CHAPTER XV.

WISBECH CASTLE.

FATHER WESTON rather abruptly turns at this point of his autobiography to his transfer to Wisbech, and the opportunity is a good one for inserting a few words respecting this his new prison. Wisbech, dear to us as having been long the place of confinement of many notable prisoners for the Faith, was one of the oldest possessions of the Church of Ely, having been given to the convent by Oswy and Leoflede when their son Alfwin, afterwards Bishop of Elmham, was educated there.[2] A great part of the estate was assigned to the monks, after

[1] It is needless to say that this little demonstration was an invention of their own, and had nothing to do with gaining an indulgence.

[2] *Supplement to the First Edition of Mr. Bentham's History and Antiquities of the Cathedral and Conventual Church of Ely.* By William Stevenson, F.S.A. Norwich, 1817, p. 77.

Ely became a bishop's see. That portion now belongs to the dean and chapter, and is called Wisbech Murrow. The remainder, which was annexed to the see, is called Wisbech Barton. It seems that a castle was built there by William the Conqueror, which is said to have been greatly injured by an inundation of the sea in 1236.

Cardinal Morton, Bishop of Ely, built, between 1478 and 1483, a new castle of brick, and made it the chief residence of the see. It was, however, allowed by his successors to become ruinous, and Father Weston describes its condition when he was sent there in 1588. From very early times the Bishop's prison was used occasionally for the custody of State prisoners, but in 1579 the whole castle, or what remained of it, was given over to receive Catholic prisoners, with their keeper and his officers. The bishopric of Ely was vacant from 1581 to 1599, and, says Strype,[1] "for want of a bishop a great number of Papists are harboured in that diocese, and the bishop's houses are much decayed." By "Papists harboured in the diocese," he does not mean the prisoners in Wisbech, but Catholics living peaceably because the office of chief persecutor was vacant; and as for the decay of Wisbech Castle, that had come about no doubt because the bishops had found its situation among the fens unwholesome. This was held to be no disadvantage to its use as a prison instead of a palace.

At the Revolution the castle was sold to Thurlow, afterwards the secretary of Oliver Cromwell, who built a house on its site. The estate reverted to the see at the Restoration, and in 1793 Bishop Yorke sold it, under an Act of Parliament, to John Medworth of Bermondsey, by whom the last remains of the castle were taken down in 1816. Its site is now the garden in the Crescent.[2]

[1] *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 344.

[2] *The English Counties Delineated.* By Thomas Moule. London, 1837, vol. i. p. 183.

It will help to illustrate Father Weston's narrative if we add that "the building,[1] which covered two acres of land, stood in the midst of other four acres, at the boundary of which was a strong high wall, and on the outside next the town was a ditch or moat forty feet wide; and there was no way to the castle but by a drawbridge in the west front. . . . The great tower was the residence of the constable or governor. Underground were dismal, dark vaults for the confinement of prisoners, which made this tower sometimes be called the keep or dungeon. In this building was the great hall."

The castle was used as a prison for Catholics at least as late as 1615, for we have a curious account[2] by James Tabor, Registrar of the University of Cambridge, of the passage through the town of some priests on their way to Wisbech, about the time of a visit of King James I., and of the precautions taken to prevent any conferences between them and the undergraduates of the University. Though this relates to a time subsequent to Father Weston's imprisonment, the story is so unlike our own ways that it is difficult to resist the temptation to insert it here.

"13 Maii, 1615. A three weeks before the day, early notice was given, both to the deputy Vice-Chancellor and the actors of the comedy called *Ignoramus*, that his Majesty, at his going up to London from Thetford and Newmarket, where he had sported, was fully resolved to hear the said comedy acted again; whereupon the actors were suddenly called together, and they made speedy preparation, as well for the altering and adding something to the plot; and in the interim, whilst this was prepared,

[1] *An Historical Account of the Ancient Town and Port of Wisbech.* By William Watson, Esq., F.A.S. Wisbech, 1827, pp. 123, 129.

[2] *Annals of Cambridge.* By Charles Henry Cooper. Cambridge, 1845, vol. iii. p. 84.

certain Jesuits or priests, being to be conveyed from London to Wisbech Castle, were not suffered to come through Cambridge, but by the sheriff carried over the back of the town to Cambridge Castle, where they lodged one night, which the Vice-Chancellor did carefully and wisely to prevent the dangers which might have ensued if the younger sort of students had seen them, and so by their own allurements or persuasion of some of their adherents, drawn them to a private conference either there or at Wisbech, which also to prevent, the Vice-Chancellor attended their coming into the castle, and then sent back all such young students as he saw there. This they perceiving, offered a disputation to the Vice-Chancellor upon three questions, which were [the contradictories of] these—

"1. Protestantium Ecclesia est vera Christi Ecclesia.

"2. Non datur Judex externus infallibilis in rebus Fidei.

"3. Fides non potest existere sine Charitate, sine qua tamen est causa adæquata justificationis.

"The Vice-Chancellor told them he knew they were to make no abode there, neither had he power from his Majesty to give leave for a disputation, which might give them occasion of stay, and cause a meeting of the students, and so left them; whereupon the Papists gloried as in the victory, that they offered to dispute, and the Vice-Chancellor did refuse it, and, that this might be the better known, they writ divers copies of the questions, and fastened them to boughs; and the next morning, as they went to take boat for Wisbech, they threw them over Magdalen College walls, which were brought to the Vice-Chancellor; whereupon the Vice-Chancellor certified the King what they had done, so the King, about eight days before his coming, notified to the Vice-Chancellor that at his coming to Cambridge he would have a disputation there of those questions. Then the Vice-Chancellor chose

young men of the University to fit the disputation, which were—

"Mr. Roberts,[1] *Trinitatis*, to answer.
"Mr. Bidglande, *Reginalis*
"Mr. Cumbar,[2] *Trinitatis* } to reply,
"Mr. Chappel,[3] *Christi*

and Mr. Cecill, *Johannis*, to moderate this act. The King had a Latin sermon on Sunday, and disputations on Monday, before coming away."

The first Catholic prisoner who was sent to Wisbech was John Feckenham, O.S.B., the last Abbot of Westminster. Anthony à Wood says[4] that "all the time of Queen Mary's reign, he employed himself in doing good offices for the afflicted Protestants from the highest to the lowest, and did intercede with the Queen for the Lady Elizabeth, for which he gained her displeasure for a time. After the said Lady Elizabeth came to the Crown, and religion was about to be altered, he devised and made speeches in the Parliament House against the Queen's supremacy over the Church of England. But the Queen, having a very great respect for his learning and virtuous life, as also for his former tenderness of her, sent for, and had private discourse with him; but what it was, none yet do positively know, though there be not wanting some that say that she offered to him the Archbishopric of Canterbury, if he would take the oath and conform to the Church of England, which he refused."

Elizabeth's respect and gratitude led her no further than to grant Feckenham the honour of this interview, for she sent him to the Tower, then to "free custody"

1 "Supposed to be William Roberts, afterwards Fellow of Queen's, and ultimately Bishop of Bangor.

2 "Thomas Comber, afterwards Master of Trinity College, and Dean of Carlisle.

3 "William Chappell, afterwards Dean of Cashel, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross" (*Mr. Cooper's notes*).

4 *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 222.

with Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester—the same who, in 1549, was the cause of his imprisonment in the Tower under Edward VI., so that it is not improbable that Horne, "as the Roman Catholics say, did deal uncivilly and falsely by him"—from Horne's custody Elizabeth sent him back to the Tower, thence, after a time, to the Marshalsea—while a prisoner in which place he was, however, allowed, on account of his health, to sleep in a private house in Holborn,—and at last he was sent to Wisbech, where he died in 1585, the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth's reign, and consequently the twenty-seventh year of his imprisonment. The first mention of his transfer to Wisbech is in a letter[1] from George Carleton to the Privy Council, in July, 1579. The names of his fellow-prisoners are mentioned in another letter[2] written by Carleton and his colleague, Humphrey Michell. The most notable of these is Thomas Watson, the last Bishop of Lincoln, on whose death at Wisbech, on the 27th of September, 1584, the ancient hierarchy of England expired.[3] Feckenham and Watson rest in the parish churchyard of Wisbech St. Peter. The letter of their fanatical keepers at Wisbech will give a good idea of the sort of persons under whose charge the last years of their venerable lives were spent.

"All duty and obedience unto your honourable lordships,—We crave pardon in that we have not so straitly observed your honours' direction in advertising the state of the recusants in Wisbech Castle as was set down. The greatest reason for our excuse is to crave more time than the allowance of one month for certifying the state of our proceedings therein, for else by not searching into the particular conditions of the parties, we might inform more

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxxxi. n. 48.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. cxliii. n. 17.

[3] Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, died in 1584 (Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 107), and it is possible that he was the last survivor of the ancient bishops.

for order than for matter, and so in vain. Let it therefore please your honours to understand that the recusants here now imprisoned are eight in number, namely, Watson, Feckenham, Younge, Windham, Oxenbridge, Metham, Wood, and Bluet. And we, according to your lordships' letters and articles to the same adjoined, have (as duty have charged) performed carefully what was enjoined, as well to the Bishop, Gray the keeper, as the prisoners themselves. Advertising further that the Lord Bishop hath appointed a preacher unto the recusants, a man of holy life, learned, and able to give account of his doctrine strongly. The men restrained, before us both, and others have been called divers times and as often required to hear the preacher, and abide the prayer; but they all with one voice generally, and after that every man particularly answering for himself, denied to allow either, saying that as they are not of our Church, so they will neither hear, pray, nor yet confer with us of any matters concerning religion. Yet as touching conference we must confess that Oxenbridge, Metham, and Bluet (being privately dealt with) were contented to abide some conference with the learned; but when the place and time was appointed for disputation upon their own questions, the first of them that spoke made his protestation that, for obedience' sake and our pleasings, they were content to dispute before us, upon divers causes between their Church and ours now in question. Nevertheless, with such minds as what and whatsoever could be said against them, they meant not to be reformed.

"The disputation held by the space of two hours, the Lord be thanked, to the great profit of us and such as stood by, though to them a hardening.

"We have also, according to the article, with the preacher perused their books and writings, of which we restrained all saving the Canonical Scriptures and the allowed writers, which to forego (together with their

Romish notes upon the same) was a great grief unto their hearts, alleging that the Book of God simply carrieth not such force and comfort to their consciences as when the same is unfolded by the Councils and Church of Rome. It may further please your honours that divers of the recusants have their servants to attend upon them, and yet for them to be allowed is not warranted. We have suffered them (as restrained only within the walls) to attend their masters till we know your further pleasure, and in the meantime we find that their repairing together, and not so abridged as their masters, is in manner all one as if their masters might as well confer as eat together, which conferring, as it is restrained, so we wish their together eating were. For if they be such offenders as in your honours' letters appear, ordinary meeting at meals doth not only strengthen them in error, but also layeth a persuasion before them that this late earnest restraint with such favour added, will end with restoring of their former liberty; but it were too much boldness for us to show any further our opinions before your wisdoms, what we think meet for such obstinates without further understanding of your honourable minds herein.

"Even thus, therefore, beseeching the Lord our God to endue your honours with all knowledge, judgment, and obedience of and to His will in this behalf, and that even upon these monsters somewhat may be wrought by your authority that may yield to His glory and the godly peace of this part of His Church, in the preservation of the life and continuance of the prosperous government of her most excellent Majesty, with increase of all grace, we most humbly take our leaves, from Wisbech Castle the 16th of October, 1580.

"Your honours' most humbly in the Lord at commandment,

"GEORGE CARLETON,
"HUMPHREY MICHELL."

Though the number of priests banished in 1585 was seventy-two, there were many yet remaining in the various prisons, and the vacancies were soon filled by fresh captures of Seminary priests and of Catholic laymen. It became a serious question for the Government what was to be done with them, and among the State Papers we find, under the title, "The means to Stay the Declining in Religion,"[1] the following politic suggestions—

"Remedies for the restrained [priests]. The execution of them, as experience hath showed, in respect of their constancy, or rather obstinacy, moveth many to compassion and draweth some to affect their religion, upon conceit that such an extraordinary contempt of death cannot but proceed from above, whereby many have fallen away. And therefore it is a thing meet to be considered whether it were not convenient that some other remedy were put in execution. And in case the execution of them shall not be thought the best course, then is it to be considered what other way were fit to be held with them. There are of these seminaries two sorts, some learned and politic withal, and of great persuasion; others simple, having neither zeal, wit, or learning. For the first they are to be sent to Wisbech, or some such-like places where they may be under honest keeping, and be restrained from access and intelligence; for that, being banished, they might do a great deal of harm. For the second, they may be banished as others before, upon penalty to be executed if they return. Such as were banished and are returned are to be presently executed."

One would be led to suppose that this paper was read at a Privy Council, for we have a holograph letter on the subject from Walsingham to Phelippes,[2] in which its expressions recur.

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv. n. 114.

[2] *Cotton. MSS.* Calig. C. ix. f. 566. [*Wrongly endorsed*, Babington's treasons.]

"My lords do mean to take order with the Seminary priests by banishment of some, executing of others, and by committing the rest to Wisbech or some such-like place under some honest keeper. I have thought good to send you a register of their names, to the end you may confer with the party you wot of, and to desire him to set down their intentions to do harm in their several kinds.

"I take it there will be found very few of them fit to do good.

"And so I commit you to God. At Barnes, the 25th December, 1586.

"Your loving friend,

"FRA. WALSINGHAM."

Walsingham bears testimony to the constancy of the priests who were his prisoners. "Few fit to do good," means few that would become his tools. The "party you wot of" was Berden the spy, and accordingly among the State Papers we have various papers giving his comments on the register of names that Walsingham sent him. It seems incredible that the fate of men of the character of the imprisoned priests should have been dependent upon the report of a mercenary wretch like Berden, but so it was. Two names, with his comments upon them, taken from his report, will be the strongest illustration of the sort of counsellor by whom Walsingham was content to be guided in the distribution of "justice."

"William Edmonds is the only Jesuit of England; to be kept, if not hanged.

"John Lister, in the Marshalsea; I beseech you to show him all favour; he is my wife's near kinsman."[1]

It is all in keeping with the system by which Phelippes had power with Walsingham, and Berden with Phelippes, and Berden used his power in behalf of the man that paid him well. This time it was not the prisoner suing for

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv. n. 73.

liberty, but the keeper of the prison desiring prisoners who would pay him best, and so Phelippes writes to Walsingham[1] in these terms in behalf of Thomas Gray, the keeper of Wisbech Castle. "It may please you to-morrow to be good unto Gray of Wisbech, who will be petitioner for some of the best priests or others that their honours [of the Privy Council] think well to be restrained of their liberty." The *best priests*, those, that is, whose friends would help them to pay the most. They were to be there at "their own charges,"[2] which simply means that the keeper was to make all the profit possible from their custody at their own expense, and that a certain amount

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxc. n. 30.

[2] "Priests and others in the prisons about London fit for Wisbech, able to bear the charges—

"*Gatehouse*—Jonas Meredith.
James Taylor.
Newgate—Leonard Hide.
Isaac Higgens.
George Collinson.
Counter, Wood Street— Grene.
Stampe.
Edmund Bradock.
White Lion—Thomas Pound.
Marshalsea—John Lister.
John Hubberley.
Edward Calverley.
George Potter.
Nicholas Knighton.
John Smythe.
Counter, Poultry— Stranguish."

(P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxciii. n. 67.)

"The names of the prisoners at Wisbech—

Recusants.	*Priests.*	*Priests.*
Mr. Scroope.	Potter.	Stranguish.
Mr. Pierrepont.	Powell.	Greene.
Mr. Pound.	Bramstone.	Wigges.
Priests.	Southworth.	Stampe.
Metham.	Loide.	Dryland.
Wigge. [?]	Bickley.	Bagshawe.
Bluet.	Bradock.	Tillotson.
Calverley.	Chadock.	Barlwin."
Edmonds.		

(*Ibid.* p. cxc. n. 44.) These papers are dated in the Calendar, in evident error, September and June, 1586.

of freedom would be winked at if it were paid for handsomely.

Time went on, and the plan of sending some of the prisoners out of the way to Wisbech, which seems to have been forgotten for a while, revived again. Mr. Justice Young, to whom the examination of Catholics was especially intrusted, was commissioned to report on the various priests, and to choose out those who should be sent to the prison in the Fens. He wrote thus[1] to Walsingham—

"Right Honourable,—Mine humble duty remembered, it may please your honour to be advertised that according to your honour's commandment I have talked with sundry priests remaining in the prisons about London, whom I find to be of divers dispositions, some very obstinate and perverse, so liberal of their slanderous speeches and so evil affected towards the Queen's Majesty and the estate of the realm, that as they are most unworthy to live in England for fear of the disturbance of her Majesty's peaceable government, so in mine opinion they are not worthy to live in any other place, where they may incite any others to the hurt and damage of the realm: amongst which is one Simpson, *alias* Hyegate, and one Flower, priests, with many others, but these are especial, and such as by the laws have justly deserved death, and in nowise merit her Majesty's mercy, as will appear by their examinations, which I will send to your honour, with all the others when I shall have perfected them.

"Whereas your honour thinketh convenient that some should be sent to Wisbech, it is most assured that living here in London at liberty in the prisons, they do much harm to such as resort unto them, especially William Wigges, Leonard Hide, and George Collinson, priests, prisoners in Newgate; Morris Williams, an old priest, prisoner in the Clink, and Thomas Pound, prisoner in the

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cciii. n. 20.

White Lion, taken as a layman, but (as Tyrrell assureth me) he is a professed Jesuit, and was admitted by one substituted by Persons while the said Pound was prisoner in the Tower. These are most busy and dangerous persons, and such as in nowise are worthy of liberty, neither are they within the compass of the last statute;[1] so that if your honour think so good, Wisbech were a convenient place for them.

"There are many others which will appear to be of the same sort; but for so much as these are principal malefactors, and that perhaps they be a number sufficient to be carried thither at one time, I will forbear to speak of the others until I shall deliver all their examinations together, which shall be with as much celerity as I may, for I find many that would live peaceably, and are not estranged from conference to be had with our preachers.

"I am given to understand that one Francis Tyrrell is to be admitted into her Majesty's service, and hath the grant of a room, but where I know not. As I hear, he is an obstinate Papist, and is doubted lest he be placed as an espie. He hath of late spoken very slanderous and evil speeches against the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Drake, which I write to your honour because you may inquire of him and prevent him, for it will be verified to him what he is and what he hath spoken.

"I beseech your honour to remember her Majesty for the protection for my son Wendover, for it standeth me greatly upon as I certified her Majesty, and I hope her Highness will be mindful of my suit for myself. And so I humbly take my leave, praying Almighty God long to

[1] By the statute 27 Eliz. [$158\frac{4}{5}$] cap. 2, Jesuits, Seminary priests, and other ecclesiastical persons, born in these realms, and ordained by the pretended authority of the See of Rome, coming into or remaining in the Queen's dominions, were guilty of high treason. Neither Queen Mary priests, nor those who had "remained," because they were in prison from the passing of the Act, were "within the compass of the statute."

preserve and keep you and all yours in health, with much increase of honour. London, this 26th day of August, 1587.

"Your honour's most ready at commandment,

"RYC. YOUNG."

Of the two priests whom Young recommended for death, one was executed. "William Flower, *alias* Way, seminary," was one of Father Weston's fellow-prisoners[1] in the Clink. His name does not occur in the lists already given,[2] for they are both dated in 1586, and he was not arrested, as we shall immediately see, till June, 29 Eliz., that is, 1587. Lord Keeper Puckering mentions him thus:[3] "Surrey. William Flower, born in Denshire, made a priest in France at Michaelmas, anno 28 *Reginæ*. He returned into England, and was apprehended in Surrey about June, 29 *Reginæ*, after the general pardon. His offence was of being in the realm." If "Denshire" means "Devonshire," this agrees very well with William Way, of the diocese of Exeter, who, according to the Douay Diary, was ordained priest at Laon, September 18, 1586. The College Diary enters this priest on its list of martyrs. A contemporary manuscript[4] says of him: "Mr. William Way, priest, a man much mortified by great abstinence and other austerities,

[1] "20 July, 1587.
"*Clink*—Maurice Williams.
William Edmonds, Jesuit.
Nicholas Felps, *alias* Smyth, Seminary.
Anthony Tyrrell, *alias* Browne, Seminary.
Nicholas Gellebrand, Seminary.
William Flower, *alias* Way, Seminary.
William Parry, Seminary.
John Robinson, Seminary.
Edward James, Seminary.
Paul Spence, Seminary."
(P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccii. n. 61.)

[2] *Supra*, pp. 179, 181.

[3] Strype's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 254.

[4] Oscott College MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. F.* p. 78.

lying ever in prison upon the boards and wearing continually a shirt of hair, so desirous of martyrdom that he would many times cry out, 'Oh, I shall never come to it,' was conveyed from London to Kingston-upon-Thames, where, answering with great constancy, he was drawn, hanged, and quartered with severity." The Bishop of Chalcedon, in the Catalogue of Martyrs sent by him to the Holy See in 1628, places his martyrdom on the 23rd of September, 1588, and quotes, as referring to this martyr, Stowe, who says: "On the 23rd of September a Seminary priest named Flower was hanged, beheaded, and quartered at Kingston."

By a very curious coincidence it appears that another priest, who suffered martyrdom at the same place a few days later, was also called, at least as an *alias*, William Way. It is not surprising that the Bishop of Chalcedon and Bishop Challoner have omitted him from their Catalogues of Martyrs, yet it seems that there really was a second martyr who was called by that which was the true name of the first. His own name was William Wigges; and, what is more curious, there were two priests of this name also, of whom one, and that not the martyr, is mentioned in Young's letter. We will take the martyr first, though he was the younger of the two.

Anthony à Wood says:[1] "One Will. Wygge, sometimes called Way, was executed for being a seminary and denying the oath of supremacy, at Kingston, in Surrey, on the 1st day of October, 1588." Whether he was the same with William Wygge, of New College, Oxford, who took the degree of M.A. October 12, 1582, Wood adds that he does not know. Dr. Worthington, whose Catalogue of Martyrs was printed in 1614, and Dr. Champney, whose manuscript history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth was begun in 1618, agree in saying that a martyr, whom they call Way, suffered at Kingston on the 1st of October. Wilson, in

[1] *Fasti Oxon.* p. 123.

his Catalogue, printed in 1608, makes no mention of Flower or Way, but names William Wigges, priest, on that day. Yepez derived his list,[1] printed in 1599, from a little book called *Relacion de algunos martyrios*, published by Father Persons in 1590, in which occur the names of Flower and Way; and this shows what is meant by "Elouer" and "Vvayo" in Yepez. On the other hand, the list at the end of Ribadeneira's Spanish Sanders, printed in 1594, gives "Guillermo Wiges," or Wigges, and "Guillermo Vero," the latter half, apparently, of the name of Flower.

The other William Wigges was of St. John's College, Oxford, and according to Anthony à Wood became B.A. in 1566. He is mentioned as "still in London" by Gregory Martin, in a letter[2] written by him to Campion, dated February 8, 1575. "Wigsæus noster Londini est adhuc." He seems to have been at the College at Rheims from November, 1577, to the March following, and in August, 1581, to have proceeded to Rome with Thomas Stanney and John Munden. Munden was martyred in 1582. Wigges must have returned from Rome very soon, for he was ordained in 1582, when the Douay Diary notes that he was of the diocese of London. He left the College for England on the 16th of February, 1583. In 1585 he was in the Tower with Leonard Hide and Thomas Alfield, and the three priests were indicted together.[3] Alfield was martyred, but the lives of Wigges and Hide were spared, and we learn from Young's letter that they were still in Newgate in 1587.

Young's recommendation was adopted respecting both of them, and they were sent to Wisbech Castle; and some

[1] *Persecucion de Inglaterra*, p. 612.

[2] Archives of the English College, Rome. For this extract, and for the references here given relating to Wigges, the editor is indebted to Canon Estcourt.

[3] *The Rambler*, June, 1857, p. 426.

time later their characters were thus reported[1] to the Privy Council by some official, whom we do not know.

"Leonard Hide, a most dangerous and presumptuous Seminary priest, who, being sent to the Tower, willed the commissioners to show him favour, that he might show them favour another day. He was removed from Newgate to Wisbech, and is a great practiser and writer of letters abroad for traitorous causes.

"William Wigges, priest, a most traitorous seducer of the Queen's Majesty's subjects from the truth and from their true obedience. He is a desperate man, and told the commissioners that he had said Mass, and would say Mass, and that he hoped to say Mass in Paul's. He hath greater power and authority than the ordinary sort of priests have for consecration of chalices, altar-stones, and such like."

The report reached Rome that William Wigges had died of hardships in prison in the year 1588, whereas in reality he survived and, as we have seen, was sent to Wisbech. This was printed at Rome in 1590, in the Catalogue of the Martyrs of the two Seminaries of Rome and Rheims, and was no confusion with the other priest of the same name, for his martyrdom in that year was also mentioned in the same Catalogue. This we learn from Father Grene,[2] who says that he understands the martyr to be the same as William Way, and in his index he has "Waius Gul., *alias* Wiggs."

There is one more prisoner who is mentioned in Young's letter, of whom it may be well to say a word. When the report above-mentioned, respecting the Wisbech prisoners, was made to the Privy Council, there were thirty-two in confinement there, who were all priests except one. That one was Thomas Pound, and he probably owed the honour to the perfectly accurate information that

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcix. n. 91.
[2] Stonyhurst MSS., *Catalogue of Martyrs*, p. 56.

Anthony Tyrrell had given to Young, that he had been received into the Society. In truth, he had been nearly ten years a Jesuit, for Father Mercurian had received him on the 1st of December, 1578, and all that time, and onwards for full thirty years, he was in prison. The report said of him: "Thomas Pound, a layman, a very obstinate man, and a great maintainer of priests and other bad persons."

We must now at length accompany Father Weston to his new place of imprisonment.

"Affairs being as I have described, the appointed day came for us to begin our journey to Wisbech. Out of the whole number of priests in the different prisons there were twelve of us chosen, who were conducted by our keepers to a public inn, and then delivered into the hands of those who, with the help of a strong and armed guard, were to escort and convey us away. We set out on our travels in the midst of a great concourse of men and women, who followed us with their eyes and gestures till we were far beyond the city, as though we had been some strange spectacle. They treated us with kindness throughout our journey. At night, however, they set watches at the doors of our rooms, both to prevent the possibility of our escaping, and also to protect us from violence on the part of the heretics. When we arrived at Wisbech, at least on the following day, the Justices of the Peace assembled, who had received orders from the Queen's Council to take us in charge, and place us in our appointed prison. Here, again, we had a throng of almost the whole population, for it was a market-day. In dense groups they surrounded us as we quitted the inn where we had slept, and accompanied us to the prison. When we reached it, we were divided and sent into separate rooms, wherein we lived day and night under bolts and locks, excepting at the hours of dinner and supper, and half an hour before and after our meal, when we could

breathe the air and walk about a little. This was a public prison, common to all the thieves and criminals, and situated within the inclosure of the Bishop's palace. It stood upon a high terrace, and water filled a moat all around it. Everything, however, at that time was ruinous and dilapidated, particularly through the rapacity and avarice of the heretical prelates, who, not caring for posterity, and only mindful of their own convenience, had despoiled the building of its best material, selling the lead off the roof, the beams, the iron, and the glass, and thus abandoning the other parts to ruin and decay.

"In this prison, besides other priests and high-born laymen, I found Thomas Metham and Thomas Pound, the former a priest, the latter a layman of good family, both of whom had been formerly admitted into the Society by Father Persons, and had suffered much for many years and in many prisons, even including the Tower of London, with great courage, for the confession of their faith. Before them, indeed, the Bishop of Lincoln, Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, Doctor Wood, the confessor of Queen Mary, all of them illustrious men, had been thrust into this prison, or rather sepulchre, and, after many calamities, tribulations, and labours, had happily slept in our Lord. Hither, also, we ourselves, with no other expectation of it but as a place of living entombment, arrived and entered in, and there we were kept, deprived of the sight of the world and all who were dear to us, myself for the space of eleven years, others for a still longer period, others for a shorter one, being intercepted by death and allowed to finish their earthly course, not without a great store of merits.

"The number of the prisoners was not always the same, or fixed; for from time to time new ones were brought in, while the older ones, particularly laymen of distinction, were set free, and some were removed by death. But we averaged generally thirty or five-and-thirty, shut up day and night in our cells, as I said; only

at dinner and supper we were set free and met at a common table, a keeper being always present, and occupying one extremity of the table, while his wife did the same at the other end, both of them watching us diligently for fear of a word being dropped that they could not themselves hear. Immediately, then, after a half hour, we were sent back to our rooms. We were fed at the expense of Catholics, and that at no light cost; but we were scarcely ever permitted to enjoy the sight or conversation of any one. If a person, however, brought money for the prisoners, one or two had leave to go to meet him to receive his alms. Night watches were arranged within and without the walls. The whole order of affairs and the care of us were committed to the hands of four justices, men of particular mark; and if any matter or business stood in need of special assistance or diligent attention, it was referred to them. Moreover, on a certain tablet, long and broad, were written many laws, all set down in a long list and in order, and hung up in a public place, so that any one who chose might read them. These rules were imposed upon the gaolers and upon ourselves; we all had to observe them: they related to the subject of our food, to the hours which had to be kept, to visitors, to books, to disturbances of the peace, and various other things which it would take too long to tell.

"Under this condition and manner of living we continued, I think, six years. We were subjected, however, to frequent examinations, searchings of our rooms, contests with ministers, and disputations concerning religion. Yet, notwithstanding all these annoyances, it was a great consolation to us that we were frequently enabled to celebrate the Holy Mysteries; for we had learned to arrange matters with so much ingenuity that we did not want for either vestments, chalices, altar-breads, or wine.

"From the beginning the prison had been beset by a great multitude of Puritan visitors, especially a little before

our arrival, partly from the town itself, partly from the villages near. For as the gaoler was himself a Puritan, together with all his family, and had the justices also for supporters, they used to come in crowds, flocking from all quarters to be present at their exercises. These they used to begin with three or four sermons, preached one after the other. Then they went to communion, not receiving it either on their knees or standing, but moving by, so that it might be called a Passover in very truth. They had likewise a kind of tribunal of their own, and elders who had power to investigate and punish at will the misdemeanours of their brethren. They all had their Bibles, and looked diligently for the texts that were quoted by their preachers, comparing different passages to see if they had been brought forward truly and to the point, in such a manner as to confirm their own doctrine. They held arguments, also, among themselves about the meaning of various Scripture texts, all of them, men and women, boys and girls, labourers, workmen, and simpletons; and these discussions were often wont, as it was said, to produce quarrels and fights. All these things could be seen by the Catholic prisoners from the windows of their cells, for they took place not in a temple or house, but within the inclosure of the prison walls, on a large space where a thousand or more persons were reported sometimes to assemble, and occasioned laughter to such as beheld or heard them by the multitude of their Bibles, the number of their horses, and the medley of their voices. When the congregation was dismissed, after the long fast that had been imposed upon them all, and after the whole day had been consumed in these exercises, they ended the farce with a plentiful supper. As time passed, however, their fervour relaxed, their principal leaders were removed, and they began to diminish in numbers and to seek other places better fitted to serve as scenes for their sacrilegious assemblies."

CHAPTER XVI.

COLLEGE LIFE IN PRISON.

"AFTER we had passed about six years in solitary confinement, during which time, besides other affronts and molestations, we had to sustain assaults from the throwing of stones, hurled at us partly in contempt, partly in a spirit of hatred, there began to dawn upon us gentler times, tempered with greater liberty, through the goodness of God. At the end of many complaints and contentions with our gaoler, we at last obtained leave to go out of our rooms when we pleased, though not beyond the walls of the prison. We could receive openly any friends who came to visit us; we were exempted from the necessity of dining at our gaoler's table, and we gained the power of providing food for ourselves at our own choice, each one of us paying every month for our rooms the sum of twenty-four reals [12*s.*]. This sum, when paid by thirty, and sometimes forty of us, amounted to a very comfortable stipend for a man who deserved so little, and received it as pay for so singularly impious and sacrilegious an employment. We had then a public refectory for us all, separate from the keeper's house, our own kitchen, pantry, cellars, and offices, so that we appeared to be almost dwelling in our own house and free home. The place was large, as I said, and formed part of the Bishop's residence. Thus it proved quite spacious enough for us all; neither was there anything left to annoy us beyond the absence of corporal liberty, our gaoler always securing our custody and reserving to himself certain concessions

which he could grant or withhold, according to circumstances.

"The following was, I think, the only event of these times that deserves to be recorded, and that was very remarkable. It happened during that period when all the prisoners were kept shut up until the time for dinner and supper. One day, at the very hour of dinner, whilst Mr. Pound and his companion were present with the others, the roof of the chamber allotted to those two fell in, the beams being quite decayed. If this had occurred at any other time but that brief space set apart for dinner, it must have imperilled their lives, or at least have resulted in the breaking of their limbs. It was remarked that the part of the room where stood the table that served them instead of an altar, where Mass was said every day, and was decorated for that purpose with a number of pictures, was in such a manner preserved from the accident that neither the altar nor the pictures were so much as soiled with the dust and rubbish of the falling rafters.

"After those six years I emerged, as it were, from darkness and the strict confinement of the cells, and felt myself permitted once again to behold the light of the world. Then not only were we able to minister to the spiritual wants of those Catholics who came to see us, but we arranged our life so as to form a kind of college, and began to employ ourselves in literary studies and in all other honourable occupations, devoting certain days of the week to cases of conscience, controversies, discussions, and lectures in the Hebrew and Greek languages. We also appointed sermons, not so much for the necessity of seculars as for the benefit and practice of the priests themselves.

"After it became known to Catholics that liberty had been granted to us of seeing and speaking with all who came to us, there appeared forthwith a great number, not only of Catholics, but also of heretics, who thronged to

visit us for the sake of seeing who we were, consulting us, and holding controversies with us. No day passed away without some guests. For, even if I omit the arrival of students from the Universities, and of ministers who came often attended by numerous followers, to discuss doctrines with us, the continual tide of Catholics of all kinds who pressed in to visit us was so great that the Queen and her Councillors were highly indignant at it, and blamed our gaoler for allowing it. But in spite of all this, since the place was at a considerable distance from Court, the visits were not stopped for long. Innumerable persons came from all parts of the kingdom; some, as to a place of devotion, as though they had undertaken a pilgrimage, spending the time during which they stayed with us in receiving the sacraments, and other pious exercises, as though they were celebrating a solemn festival. In this manner the house was never empty, nor were we ever freed from the duty of these ministrations. I pass over the cases of conscience that were settled by us, the quarrels that we pacified, the frequent letters that we were required to write, answers to heretics, and to those, also, who had the faith, but who insisted that the practice of going to heretical services was not unlawful nor worthy of condemnation.

"Such was the state and such were the habits of our prison life during all the last five years, until I was removed from thence and shut up in the Tower of London. If there is anything else proper to be mentioned it would be the manner of our own life—my own, I mean, that of Father Thomas Metham, and of Thomas Pound, to whom, after a few years, Father Ralph Bickley was added. There is scarcely anything for me to add to the general customs of our whole community, excepting the exercises of prayer, examination of conscience, exhortations, and conferences, which we took care should be diligently maintained, unless violence or any great necessity came to interrupt them.

"Immediately on our obtaining the liberty of which I spoke, in the year '94, if I mistake not, Father Thomas Metham having finished the course of his life by a happy passage, left us for God. He was at least sixty years old, and had experienced many prisons. For four years he had been detained in the Tower of London, from which, when suffering from serious illness, he was released at the intercession of friends. Later on he passed through other prisons, and in the end was brought to Wisbech. As he was a learned man and a theologian, having been a licentiate before he entered religion, and accomplished both in the Hebrew and Greek languages, and in historical knowledge and all scholarship, he had been engaged in many contests and disputations with heretics, and carried away glorious trophies in the cause of that faith which he so bravely defended. At last, it was by a short and apparently light illness that he was attacked and overcome. Fortified by the sacraments of the Church, happily and sweetly, painlessly and without any agony, he slept in peace."

Of Father Thomas Metham very little is known beyond that which is here told by Father Weston. It is a mistake on the part of Dodd and Oliver to say that "he was one of the first missionaries from Douay College." He was ordained elsewhere, and became Licentiate in Theology in some other Continental university, for he but passed through Douay College on his way to England, in order that he might obtain missionary faculties from Dr. Allen, the President. This was in 1574; and the Douay Diary, in recording it, notes that he was a Yorkshireman by birth. In all probability he was a son of Sir Thomas Metham, of whom Sanders says[1] that he and his wife had been many years in prison. Mrs. Metham is mentioned[2] as one of the six Catholic ladies, "of the best sort," who were imprisoned in Sheriff Hutton Castle by the Earl of Huntingdon,

[1] *Concertatio*, fol. 47. [2] *Troubles*, First Series, p. 229.

"all which gentlewomen became afterwards ladies, their husbands being knighted." This was probably our Father Metham's brother's wife. The old Sir Thomas, as we learn from Sanders, was an intimate friend of Thomas Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, who was beheaded in 1572. He says that when the Earl was brought to York, shortly before his execution Sir Thomas Metham had an interview with him, and after an affectionate farewell, went home and died in a few days, so that death did not separate the two friends.

When Father Thomas Metham began his long course of imprisonment may be computed from the fact that the Roman Annual Letters[1] say that he died in 1592. Father Weston was therefore wrong in saying 1594. June 28, 1592, says Nadasi, "in the seventeenth year of his captivity, *martyrio eo molestiori quo diuturniori.*" This would take the commencement of his prison life back to 1575, the year after his entrance on the English mission. This agrees sufficiently well with the date of his reception into the Society. It was from the Tower, where Father Weston has told us he spent four years, that he managed to get his desire to be a Jesuit conveyed to his friend Father Thomas Darbyshire, who, as we have seen, was then at Paris. Father Darbyshire interceded for him with Father Everard Mercurian; and the letter by which the General granted his desire is dated May 4, 1579. Bartoli,[2] apparently, a little overstates it when he says that he had then been five full years in prison.

His name does not often appear in the State Papers. It occurs, however, in the year 1580, showing that he had been previously liberated on bail, perhaps at the time when the intercession of friends obtained his release from the Tower on account of illness. The paper[3] is called, "Note

[1] More, *Hist. Prov.* lib. iv. c. 15, p. 141.
[2] *Inghilterra*, lib. v. p. 343.
[3] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxl. n. 38.

of the names of prisoners in charge under the Marshal of her Majesty's Bench for not conforming themselves in causes of religion." "Thomas Metham, clerk, was committed the 11th day of May last past, by the Justices of her Majesty's Bench at Westminster, at which time he did yield his body for the safeguard of his sureties, who before had entered into bond that he should appear that term in the court. The cause appeareth in the Crown Office with Mr. Sandes, and [is] unknown to the Marshal in whose custody the said Thomas Metham remaineth at this present."

It was not until long after Father Metham's death that Ralph Bickley was admitted into the Society, for the date of the application in his behalf made by Father Garnet to Father Persons, was April 15, 1597.

On the accession of King James Father Bickley was banished, when he had spent seventeen years in prison; but he returned to the mission, and, as we have already mentioned,[1] was again arrested in 1617, when he was cozened out of 20*l.* by Atkinson, the apostate pursuivant. Half a letter in his handwriting is still in existence, and in it he gives some account of his examinations on that occasion by Sir Ralph Winwood, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot.

"I, weary of their company," he says, speaking of the pursuivants, who had him in custody, "willed them to carry me before Sir Ralph Winwood before dinner. We waIt, and Sir Ralph not coming to dinner to his house we went to the next tavern to dine, but by the way; this morning, when we were so cozened, after that I had told the knaves [letter torn] and easily was satisfied, protested to me that he would do what he could for me [with Sir Ralph], and he told me the particular causes of his favour with the knight, and he hoped [short]ly to procure that for my health I under sureties should be permitted to lie about

[1] *Supra*, p. 160.

the fields. But that if that could not be effected but that I must go to prison, he would procure me liberty to walk abroad into the fields with my keeper. To this purpose he dealt with the knight privately, and came with me from my lodging to Sir Ralph, and he brought me up to my examination, where the pursuivants having given him the letter and paper above said, calling me to him, sitting in his great chamber where suitors came for audience, he first asked my name. I said, 'Britain.' 'Are you a priest or Jesuit?' I answered, 'May it please your honour to understand that seeing I was stayed on suspicion only, I hoped his honour would not enforce me to answer to more than my accusers could prove; but if privately alone he would ask me anything that I could without hurt of myself or others, I would, in confidence in his honour's humanity, satisfy him to his content.' Thereat presently he arose, and carried me into his gallery and none present but he and I, he asked me if I were a priest and Jesuit. I answered, 'I will not deny or fear to acknowledge my profession to you: I am so.' Then asking me a question or two about the letter, I satisfied him. Then he asked me of what University I was. I told him, 'Of Oxford.' He asked of what college. I said, 'Of Exeter College.' Then he demands me whom I knew in that time. I told him. And asking if I had been a prisoner, I said, 'Ay, at Wisbech.' Then he asked me why I changed my name. I said because friends would be afraid of our known proper names. . . .

"Being brought to my Lord of Canterbury before dinner, he sitting in his chamber in a chair, and some of his gentlemen and secretary by, first bid them give me a stool, for he saw me very faint. Then said he, 'Mr. Bic[kley], I missed you narrowly some years since.' 'Where?' said I. 'At a place the first letter whereof was Cant.'[2] 'My lord,' said I, 'I know nothing thereof.'

[2] It is not easy to determine the letters of this syllable. They may be "Card," or even "Caril."

"Then said he, 'I have your first profession of a Jesuit under your own hand.' I answered, 'My lord, I hope you have not anything under my hand whereof I need repent me or be ashamed.' Then, asking me how long I had been priest and Jesuit, and how long prisoner heretofore, and when I was banished; to which I answering, then said he to me, 'When you were at Wisbech, you were distributing bishoprics of this realm, and dividing the kingdom to the Infanta.' I answered, 'My lord, this is the first news I heard of such doings. Your honour hath many informations not sound, whereof this is one to my knowledge.' Then said he, 'Will you show yourself ready to swear your allegiance to his Majesty?' I answered, 'Yes, my lord, as far as all ancient clergymen of this realm or other Catholic realms have done in Catholic days; but this oath of allegiance is new, not heard of before, yea, by divers learned men proved to be unlawful, howbeit some maintain it, and *in dubiis securior pars sequenda est*, which is not to take it.' 'You, then,' saith he, 'will not take it?' 'No, my lord, for the reasons alleged.' All this being done, he required me to testify that with my hand, which I did. He said not a word of the letter and paper taken with me."

Father Ralph Bickley was one of twelve Jesuits, who were set free by King James in June, 1618, at the request of Diego de Sarmiento, Count de Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, who was then leaving England. Father Bickley died soon after at St. Omers, in a good old age.[1]

In illustration of the community life led at Wisbech by the prisoners when the regulations were relaxed, we may here insert an examination,[2] which shows that the priests were accustomed to have the Scriptures read from the Vulgate, while they were at dinner.

[1] More, *Hist. Prov.* lib. viii. n. 22, p. 377.
[2] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cclv. n. 15.

"The examination of William Wagge, of Wisbech, butcher, of and concerning certain speeches uttered by Edward Hall, late my servant, taken before me, William Medeley, in the Castle of Wisbech, the 21st of December last, 1595.

"The said Wagge, being examined what undutiful speeches to her Majesty he heard Edward Hall utter in the alehouse, publicly, when he came from the marshes from his cattle, confesseth that when he asked Hall what babbling and noise the Papists made in dinner-time, Hall made answer that 'it was a foolish speech to call it babbling, for it was but reading of certain chapters of the Bible in Latin, and we have it in English, and in that there is as good matter as we have either read, or taught, or preached unto us; the which I will justify [that is, am ready to prove] and therefore give it a better term.' 'I can give it no better,' saith Wagge, 'neither doth it deserve a better, nor yet scarce as good as long as I understand it not; and if you do so far justify and commend the same, I will like the worse of you, and so will your master, I am sure, if he knew it.' As for the words which Baldwin justifieth, he saith he heard no such, but only the very word of 'mutiny' and no more, neither could he tell what he meant by it or what he would say. More than this he cannot say.

"WILLIAM MEDELEY."

William Medeley was the new keeper, successor to Thomas Gray, of whom Father Weston speaks further on. Bartoli says that Gray's daughter, whose conversion he next recounts, was called Ursula.

"I must not here omit the conversion of the daughter of our chief gaoler. She was gifted with a keen and unusual understanding, and being entirely given up and devoted to the sect of the Puritans, she was held to have such authority and inspiration that she had already obtained

the title and dignity of elder, and was regarded by them all as a prophetess. When she had often heard the Catholic prisoners disputing with the heretics upon matters of religion, and had silently weighed in her mind the arguments used upon both sides, comparing the solid reasoning of Catholics with the light answers of their opponents; and when she had observed that her own husband, although an obstinate man, was often reduced to silence or else driven to absurd replies; although in the beginning she had been much opposed to us and even pertinacious (for on some occasions she would in a modest way interpose her own opinions), as the light of the Catholic religion dawned upon her mind, she began by degrees to hesitate, to waver, to form doubts, to listen patiently to what was answered her and to receive instructions, and at length to move so far towards a right disposition as to incur the suspicion of her own father. At last when she had gone so far that being more and more confirmed in the truth of our Faith, she more and more rarely did frequent the assemblies and churches of her Puritan friends, her father, perceiving his daughter's alienation from that sure sign, and also from the fact that she would sometimes argue on the Catholic side and urge against the Puritans those same arguments to which she had herself yielded assent, became so infuriated against her and all Catholics, that, after trying every mode of bringing back his daughter, and perceiving that he gained nothing by argument, caresses, and menaces, he made an impious protestation that he detested and execrated the Catholic religion with so implacable a hatred that, even though he should be certain of the fact that without it he could not obtain his salvation, even then he would never embrace it. This wicked speech, worthy of the lips of some lost spirit, made so deep an impression upon his daughter's mind that she felt herself more strongly drawn towards the Faith, and

sought ways and means by which, without any greater offence to her father, she might accomplish her design. At that time she was shortly expecting the birth of an infant. It would be impossible to tell how much she had to bear from her wicked father as the time of her confinement approached; but when, through God's mercy, she had safely passed through it and had returned with renewed strength from the place to which she had retired for her confinement (which was outside the inclosure of the prison and her father's house), she had daily contentions with her father, her mother (who, however, loved her exclusively), with her husband, and with many others of the sect. Notwithstanding this she could not be withdrawn from her resolution, for she was always so urged by the force of truth and the reproaches of her conscience that she found herself unable to go back; but the rough and furious violence of her father so terrified her that she shrank from seriously and actually professing herself a Catholic. Formerly, indeed, when her father ordered her or requested her to go to church, she would invent some obstacle, or find out some cause for excusing herself; but one day on which custom rendered it necessary to attend, when her parents and the rest of the family were ready to go to church, they directed her to accompany them. She began to feign a hindrance to put it off, and when commanded, at last, refused obedience. Then her father, a ferocious man by nature, to the horror of the by-standers, in a deadly rage said to her, 'You wretch, how dare you?' Upon that he drew his dagger, rushed at his daughter, and when she ran away, with blind fury pursued her. She, however, was quick and active and avoided that danger. Keeping her face always turned towards her father, she went backwards out of the house, and as she withdrew, implored and conjured him to spare her life. But he, forgetful not only of paternal love but also of common humanity, with his drawn

dagger pressed after her to run her through. Put to flight thus and expelled from her father's house, she was left in the street desolate, not knowing whither she was to betake herself, or to whom she should turn, for all the neighbours held the man in dread. At length an honourable and wealthy matron, touched with pity, received her as a guest for that night. By the exertions, however, and diligence of Catholics, it was brought about that she was conveyed away on horseback, and did not for many years see her father again or any of her relations. She bore this separation from her friends and many other afflictions very bravely, and so manfully embraced the Cross of Christ that not only did she endure with equanimity the loss of her worldly goods, but she submitted, as I have heard, for many years to imprisonment for the confession of the Faith."

Father Weston's next story is a specimen of the curious way in which our ancestors treated the insane. It is not uncommon to find now-a-days that people have gone out of their minds in consequence of religious troubles, and it is to be wondered at that we have not more frequent instances of a similar effect in a time of great religious excitement and anxiety like the days of Elizabeth. The case of the unfortunate young undergraduate at Hart Hall seems to have made a great impression on Father Weston, who it must be confessed becomes a little prolix as he comes towards the end of his autobiography. We have ventured to cut his sentences down a little.

Hart Hall, afterwards Hertford College, then Magdalen Hall, and now again Hertford College, was one of the houses in Oxford to which men went whose tendency was to the Catholic religion. The other Colleges frequented by them were St. John's and Gloucester Hall. The latter is now merged in Worcester College. There the old religion lingered, when the scholars of Dr. Allen had left St. Mary's

Hall and time had removed the effect of Dr. Bridgewater's influence on Lincoln, of which Colleges they had been the heads.

Laurence Humphrey and John Reynolds were two of the best known Puritans at Oxford at that time. Reynolds, whose name Anthony à Wood[1] spells Rainolds, was of Christ Church, or as Father Weston calls it, "of the Cathedral." We have met him before in his discussions with Father John Hart. The story ran that John and William Reynolds were brothers, John a Catholic and William a Protestant, and that they disputed on religion till they converted one another, "William turning a zealous Catholic, and John a strong Puritan." À Wood shows from one of Father Persons' books that William Reynolds was converted because "he fell in the end to read over Mr. Jewel's book, and did translate some part thereof into Latin, but before he had passed half over, he found such stuff as made him greatly mislike of the whole religion, and so he, leaving his hopes and commodities in England, went over the sea; and the last year of Jubilee, to wit, 1575, he came to Rome and brought that book with him, and presented both himself and it to the tribunal of the Inquisition, of his own free motion and accord, where I guess the book remaineth still, if it be not burned." Of John Reynolds' five brothers, the three eldest were Catholics, Jerome, William, and Edmund. William was a Fellow of New College; Jerome and Edmund were Fellows of Christ Church, the latter, "leaving that house because he was *in animo Catholicus*, retired to Gloucester Hall."

As to the other Protestant divine here mentioned by Father Weston, Laurence Humphrey, according to à Wood,[2] "in 1560 was constituted the Queen's Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxon, being then about thirty-four years of age, at which time was a very great

[1] *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 267. [2] *Ibid.* p. 242.

scarcity of theologists throughout the body of students, and in the year following he was elected President of this College." "From Zurich and Geneva," à Wood goes on to say, "he brought back with him at his return into England so much of the Calvinian both in doctrine and discipline, that the best that could be said of him was that he was a moderate and conscientious Nonconformist." And he and Thomas Sampson, another severe Calvinist, who wore "the round cap" in imitation of Humphrey, "preached by turns every Lord's day, either at St. Mary's or elsewhere, to the academicians, at that time there being a great scarcity of divines in the University and but very few masters."

"It must[1] be now known that in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the University of Oxon was so empty, after the Roman Catholics had left it upon the alteration of religion, that there was very seldom a sermon preached in the University Church called St. Mary, and what was done in that kind was sometimes by Laurence Humphrey, President of Magdalen College, and Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christ Church. But they being often absent, a young man of All Souls' College would often step up and preach to the admiration of all his auditors."

By these expressions honest Anthony à Wood shows how averse the University of Oxford as a whole was to the new religion, and how great was the injury caused to learning by its introduction.

"One of my fellow-prisoners, a priest, related to me a history regarding an occurrence of which he had been an eye-witness whilst he was in the University of Oxford, before his conversion, while still a Protestant minister. As this story deserves to be told, it may as well be inserted here, although it took place long before the period of which I have been writing, and must have had for its date some-

[1] *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 161.

where about the middle of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was told to me in 1595 or 1596. There was a young man from Lancashire, born of Catholic parents, and educated as a Catholic in his father's house. After making some progress in his humanities, he was sent to Oxford for the higher studies of logic and philosophy. Of all the numerous colleges of young men there, he chose or fell upon the one known as Hart Hall. As he was a Catholic, he could not escape notice among the heretics, neither could he conceal or disguise the profession of his religion. It was remarked by his associates that he did not frequent their churches or join in their prayers. Some entreated, some threatened, while others (who seemed more humane) exhorted and terrified him by describing the severity of the laws decreed against such as himself. At length he found himself unable to endure those heavy and daily molestations inflicted on him by so many persons, particularly as he was only a youth seventeen or eighteen years old; so being without wiser counsel, he consented to be present at the sermon of a certain Laurence Humphrey, an arch-heretic and dogmatizer. When the sermon was over, the deep sting that remained in his mind allowed him to have no rest or peace in his soul. His nights and days, therefore, he passed in a state bordering on despair, as though he had been tormented by the furies. One night that was singularly tempestuous, he was frightened by the thunder and lightning. He imagined that his last hour had come, when he would be compelled to render an account to God of all the actions of his life, and that this thunder was sent by God as a kind of forewarning of the tremendous sentence about to be pronounced against him. He trembled, raised his hands to heaven, and prayed fervently and eagerly. In particular he repeated frequently aloud, and with intense earnestness, that petition in our Lord's Prayer, 'And lead us not into temptation.' Thus he spent the night in prayers and tears. At dawn he

saw, or thought he saw, a dove with outstretched wings, knocking again and again at the window of his room. This he interpreted as a good omen, as though that innocent bird had been sent to him as a messenger of peace and reconciliation. The thorn, nevertheless, still remained in him, and during all that day he kept to his bed, turning over in his mind various thoughts that led him to desperation. What was he to do? To go on suffering such misery appeared to him an evil worse than any death. Then an incredible suggestion occurred to his mind. He thus disputed and meditated with himself: 'My sin has been most grievous; there is no greater sin that I know of than a sin against religion; there has been public scandal: there must be satisfaction as public as the sin.' He waited, therefore, until about evening, when they were all at supper; then, having stripped off his clothes, he went down to the gate, and, through as quiet and retired streets as he could find, made his way with all speed to the market place of the city. He had got a good way, and was making haste, when he suddenly met the bursar of his house, who stared in surprise to see a naked man rushing along the public street. It was in the middle of summer, and it was still light. As he drew nearer he recognized who it was, and called out, 'Why, Mr. March (for so he was called), what is the meaning of this?' 'Go on your way,' said the boy, 'and let me finish what I am doing, for it is necessary for my soul. I am going to make confession before all the people, and say how sorry I am for my great sin.' The bursar, taking him to be stark mad, made him come home, put him to bed, and reported in the house the strange conduct of young March. They all ran up to see him, scarcely believing him sane. They discovered that he had been urged by the pricks of his conscience to form such a design, because of the heretical sermon preached against religion at which he had been present. Of those who stood round him some broke forth into vehement

reproaches and arguments, persuading him to give up all his scruples and religion together. March answered them still more sharply. He called them heretics, condemned and lost enemies of God and of all that is good, and ordered them to leave his room. In the midst of his conversations and controversies, however, he ever and anon betook himself to prayer, especially calling out in a loud voice, 'And lead us not into temptation.' In these religious controversies they spent a considerable portion of the night, March defending himself against them vigorously. At last they got tired and went to bed. March, finding himself alone, besought of God with earnest sighs and tears that He would rescue him from his trouble. The man who told the story to me, and who was occupying a chamber near, then went to see him. He encouraged him to throw off his despondency, at all events, for that night, and to take some rest and sleep; and he added, 'I am a different sort of man from what you, perhaps, take me for. In matters of religion I feel with you, whatever I am in name and profession (for at that time he was an Evangelical minister, though well disposed in favour of the Catholic faith), and I quite understand how a delicate conscience is wounded by the stings of remorse; but nothing should make you doubt. I have a friend and a physician who is both able and willing to heal persons afflicted like yourself. To-morrow morning early I will awake you, and will take you to a place where you will be able to confer with him about the wounds of your soul.' He meant, of course, a priest whom he knew to be in concealment somewhere in the city. At these words March was comforted, and at last fell asleep.

"The fame of this affair could not long remain within the walls of the College. It soon became the talk of the city, to such a degree that very early in the morning, before they had time to go out, March was surrounded by a multitude of the chief theologians amongst them.

There was John Reynolds, doctor of theology of the cathedral, and a well-known writer also. He went up to the youth, and in a long conversation that lasted several hours did his best to undermine his faith and constancy, but in vain, for March with great zeal persevered in defending the authority of the Catholic Church. 'But,' said Reynolds, 'are not all you Papists egregious idolaters? Do you not adore creatures instead of God? Your chief doctor and theologian, Thomas Aquinas, whom you all accept, affirms in distinct words that the cross, which is a creature, is nevertheless to be worshipped with *latria*, which, as it is the worship peculiar to God, ought never to be offered to any one excepting God.' March made answer: 'I am not a theologian, nor do I know what has been said by St. Thomas, but I am quite sure that neither he nor any tolerably instructed Catholic ever said that the adoration due to God alone may be given to a creature. You cannot show me this out of St. Thomas.' 'I will show it to you,' said Reynolds, 'and if you please, I will place the very passage before your own eyes, that you may believe it.' 'Then,' said March, 'leave off disputing, and do as you have said.' Hereupon Reynolds went away and did not return himself, but sent the book with the passage marked, at an interval of some hours, and desired the minister to take care that March did not read anything besides the sentence in question. When March had read the passage and wanted to read further, the minister put his hand over the book, and said, 'You must not go any further, you have got enough, the cross is a creature, and yet to be worshipped with *latria:* what more do you want?' 'For all that,' cried March, 'I wish to read what follows; I do not know what the sense of it is.' After some contention, therefore, and some violence, the one trying to remove, the other to keep in its place the hand that lay on the page, March exclaimed, 'Go away with you, heretic that you are, like all the others,

you know nothing about spiritual things. Away with you all, cursed by God, the fellows of Judas and Cain, and haters of the truth; trouble me no more, for I mean to adhere firmly henceforward to the only true and Catholic Church.' When he had spoken thus the minister departed, and March, although pretty nearly beside himself, rested for a while. Not for long, however, for during the greater part of that day and the following, the perpetual stream of visitors, his fellow-collegians and others, never ceased in the direction of his room. They excited the unhappy boy both by their words and actions; they ill-treated him and bound him with cords as a madman, and smothered him up between feather beds, although it was in the height of summer. So that within two days, whether they worried him to death (though I do not say so), or whether he sank under the agonies of his own mind, perhaps in part from both causes, at any rate, within two days, as I said, deprived of all human succour (not of divine, we may believe), he breathed his last.

"A certain man, a Catholic, related to me an answer which he made to the so-called Bishop of Winchester,[1] and his assessors, when he was cited with other Catholics before his tribunal. His companions had been already interrogated and dismissed, and when it came to his turn they said to him, 'And you, good man, what have you got to tell us?' He was very simple in his appearance, and poor, just able to earn a scanty livelihood with his tailor's needle and scissors. 'Do you, too, like remaining in that blind ignorance? It is not to be wondered at in you who have been deceived and led away by a too great simplicity, still it does not require much wisdom to understand that it is atrociously wicked and stupid to worship stocks and stones instead of God, which is what you Papists do. Therefore, do not be so foolish. Admit with us that these things are not gods, but false and empty

[1] Thomas Cooper became Bishop of Winchester in 1583, and died in 1594.

representations of the true and supreme God.' The man replied, 'We neither know nor adore any other God save the one Creator of the world and the Redeemer of all men; and, however simple we may be, we are not ignorant of the difference between Christ as He is, reigning in heaven, and the images of Christ; betwixt Peter and Paul, and their pictures and representations.' They said to him, 'Do you presume to deny that you hold up your hands, bend your knees, and offer up incense to pictures or images, that is to say, to wood and stone, and that you invoke these idols, and address prayers to them as though they were true gods?' Then the other replied, 'To answer your question, be so kind as to let me bring forward a familiar example. If, for instance, one of you were out hunting with your hounds, and were to enter a hall adorned with tapestry and hangings representing deer, hares or other animals, and were then to try to excite his dogs to tear them in pieces, do you think the hounds would be so stupid as to attack the painted pictures and mistake them for real animals? I entreat you, therefore, to believe that we are, at all events, as sensible as you allow the dogs are. Be sure that the least learned of us are quite enough instructed by the Church to be fully aware of the distinction that exists between God, Christ, and the saints, and their representations painted or carved, and to know that we are not to worship images instead of God and the saints, but that we are to consider the realities of what we see in the images.' Upon receiving this answer the heretics were astounded, marvelling that so much wisdom and truth should have come from such a simple person, so not knowing how to oppose him further, they felt confused and dismissed him.

"A certain Greek from the island of Patmos, relying on the letters of recommendation which he had received from the British envoy at Constantinople, came into England to collect alms for the redemption of some

captives. He in consequence, after showing his letters and obtaining permission from the Privy Council, travelled through many cities and towns in England, and at length stopped at Wisbech. There on a certain festival day the cause of his arrival was proclaimed by the preacher from the pulpit, and he was presented by the people with a very generous contribution. When the report of the affair reached us we asked and obtained leave that the man should visit and converse with us. He was dressed in a common suit rather threadbare, not in his own Greek fashion. He was so well acquainted, not only with the Greek, but likewise with the Latin and Italian tongues, that he could explain his meaning and understand that of others in all three languages. The place where we were was soon filled with the concourse of spectators, both Catholics and heretics, whom curiosity drew together. The stranger narrated amongst other things the different adventures of his travels; and in the course of his descriptions he produced letters from the two Patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, written with clearness and elegance in the Greek tongue, and duly sealed with the Patriarchs' own seals. The seal of Constantinople was of white wax and bore a large figure of the Blessed Virgin; that of Alexandria was of black wax and had the effigy of St. Mark. After the letters had been unfolded we took care that they should be read and explained before the company in the vulgar tongue. Besides the motive of the journey, these letters contained some passages relating to religion and the questions controverted by heretics, such as, in particular, the mystery of the unbloody Sacrifice. An opportunity having thence arisen for saying something on the subject of religion in presence of the minister and his people, we made inquiry about several matters as to what was felt concerning them by the Greek Church and religion, for example, about pictures, for these he openly carried about with him, and then there were besides the seals of

the two prelates. 'What did they feel with respect to their honour and worship? What about the true presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrifice of the Mass? What about Purgatory, the honour of the saints, the necessity of good works for salvation?' To all these questions he gave answers very much in harmony with Catholic doctrine, and proved plainly that the Greek and Latin Churches (with the exception of those errors peculiar to the former which have little in common with our modern heretics) unite wonderfully and are conformed to each other in opinion and teaching, in opposition to the new heresies of our time. On hearing this all the heretics who were present, and particularly the minister (who was looked upon by his own people as a great preacher and not a little learned) stood speechless and greatly confounded. They were so shut out from escape as to be unable to mutter a word in reply, and their discomfiture was the more complete because oftentimes they had ventured to boast of having the Greeks for their imitators and patrons in doctrine.

"My narrative so far has been continued in order, and I have set down with truth and fidelity such things as I happened to see, or to hear from trustworthy persons. Since the conclusion is now drawing on I mean to add these few words. In the prison of Wisbech I was detained for eleven years, during six of which, if my memory serves me, I was kept closely and strictly, and during the other five more freely, together with my fellow-captives. Our first gaoler having been removed by a most dreadful death, another was chosen in his place who wished to be considered as a gentleman, being sprung from the same family, according to his own account, as William Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, by whose goodwill and authority he obtained an excellent position, being made by him Justice of the Peace. This man being appointed as keeper and governor of the prison was in hopes that, in consequence of his

authority over the laity, he would be able in like manner to hear and pass judgment in the case of ourselves and our causes, if any difficulties were to arise. He had, moreover (though he never ought to have had them), persons who strenuously favoured all his endeavours and designs, saying that in consequence of the civil laws of the kingdom and the decrees of the Queen all the negotiations and disputes among priests (excepting matters of faith and religion) had to be put an end to and decided."[1] . . .

CHAPTER XVII.

THE TOWER, EXILE, AND DEATH.

IT would appear that just at the point where the mutilation of the manuscript brings Father Weston's autobiography to an abrupt termination, he was beginning to allude to a subject that all must wish to be forgotten. Though what he would have said, would have been for certain most modestly said, it is not to be regretted that we should not have to reproduce it here. The divisions that embittered, as no hardships could embitter, the greater part of a year during the latter portion of that long imprisonment at Wisbech, could be described from the contemporary papers that survive; but it would be to revive unnecessarily a now happily forgotten discord.

Of that disagreement this only need be said, that the division had its origin in the strong desire of eighteen of the priests there confined to render their imprisonment as conducive as possible to their sanctification, but they adopted a means that the others had a perfect right to object to and keep aloof from, as they judged best. These eighteen

[1] P. 76 of the MS. *The rest is wanting.*

petitioned Father Garnet, then Superior of the English Jesuits, that Father Weston might be charged to preside over them as their local Superior, according to certain rules by which they proposed to frame their community life. This letter was written by them on the 7th of February, 159$\frac{4}{5}$, and on the 8th of November, Dudley and Mush, two ancient missioners, who had gone with Father Garnet's concurrence to Wisbech, as pacificators, were able to write to him and say that the division was at an end. "You would have wondered," they wrote,[1] "to have seen the vehemency of God's spirit, in one moment to make all hard hearts relent; and where there was most froward aversion immediately before, there was suddenly seen to be most intense affections and tenderness. Such humiliation one at another's feet; such wringing, clipping,[2] and embracing; such sobs, tears, and joyful mourning—that for joy also our hearts were like to burst among them. And verily, Father, neither among themselves, nor to our sight, they appeared, after, the same men they were before. We thought it one of the joyfullest days that ever we had seen."

It would have been well for England if all differences had ended there. Such reconciliations are rarely lasting, and the "stirs at Wisbech," as they were called, had been heard of all over the kingdom. Party spirit arose: very violent things were written, and what was worse, were printed and published; and this evil continued till it culminated in Watson's detestable *Quodlibets*, which were the delight of the enemies of the Church.

Another matter Father Weston's autobiography must have described, the loss of which is more to be regretted. From Wisbech he was transferred to the Tower of London, and we should have liked to have been told by himself how it happened, and in what way he was treated

[1] Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. iii. p. 115.
[2] *To clip*, Anglo-Saxon, to embrace. *Halliwell.*

in that most cruel of all English prisons. That the state of things at Wisbech should not have been permitted to continue is not surprising. How Elizabeth's Government, with its lynx eyes, should have overlooked the open practice there of the Catholic religion for five years or more, we cannot imagine. A paper, printed by Strype,[1] scurrilous in other parts, says, and is justified in saying, as follows: "The state of the Seminary priests and Jesuits at Wisbech, by liberty and favour of their keeper, growing to be as dangerous as a Seminary College, being in the heart and midst of England. First, there is about twenty-eight Seminary priests and Jesuits,[2] who have com-

[1] *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 273.

[2] In the *Harleian MSS.* 6998, fol. 220, from which this is taken, there are the subjoined lists of the priests and the boys attending on them, of which Strype only prints a few lines.

"Staff:	Dr. Christopher Bagshawe.
Lond:	Dr. Norden.
Kent.	Father William Edmonds.
Wales.	Mr. Thomas Blewett.
Staff:	Father Buckley.
Essex.	Mr. Ralph Ithell.
Wales.	Mr. Lewis Barlow.
Lond:	Mr. William Wigges.
Wales.	Mr. James Powell.
Bark:	Mr. Leonard Hide.
Kent.	Mr. Thomas Bramstone.
Hampsh:	Mr. Ralph Bickley.
Norf:	Mr. Edward Bradocke.
Lanc:	Mr. Christopher Southworth.
Wales.	Mr. Jonas Meredith.
Yorks:	Mr. Edmund Calverley.
	Mr. Christopher Thules.
Lanc:	Mr. Chaddocke.
Lanc:	Mr. Robert Nutter.
Yorks:	Mr. Philip Strangwidge.
Staff:	Mr. John Greene.
Kent.	Mr. Christopher Dryland.
Yorks:	Mr. Francis Tillotson.
Yorks:	Mr. William Clargenett.
Kent.	Mr. George Potter.
	Mr. Archer.
Lanc:	Mr. Boulton.
Wales.	Mr. William Parry.
Worc:	Mr. James Taylor.
Wales.	Mr. Aberley.

pounded with their keeper, Gray, for their diet and all provision, and necessary entertaining servants, as if they were in a free College and no prison. . . . Great resort and daily is there to them of gentlemen, gentlewomen, and of other people, who use to dine and sup with them, walk with them in the castle yard, confer with them in their chambers; whereby they receive intelligence, and send again what they list, from and unto all quarters of the realm, and beyond sea. And other priests resort unto them, as Father Scott, the Seminary priest did, *anno* '91, and others known."

In this account of the resort of Catholics to Wisbech Castle at this time, it is clear that there is no exaggeration.

Lanc: Mr. Robert Woodroffe.
Mr. Alexander Gerard.
Hampsh: Mr. Pound, a layman.

"The names of all such boys, as are attending upon the priests now remaining within the Castle of Wisbech—

John Crompton, about the age of seventeen years, and born about London; servant to Dr. Bagshawe.

John Cutler, about the age of seventeen years, and born at Wisbech; servant to Mr. Barlow.

Thomas Fisher, about the age of sixteen years, born at Stilton; servant to the whole company.

George Fisher, his brother, about the age of fourteen years; late servant to Mr. Dryland, and now servant to Mr. Bickley.

Michael Randall, about the age of thirteen years, born at Stilton; servant to Mr. Wiggs.

John Ingram, about the age of seventeen years, born at [blank]; late servant to Mr. Meredith, and now attending on the whole company.

Bartholomew Story, about the age of seventeen years, born at Wisbech; servant to Mr. Blewet.

Thomas Churchard, about the age of sixteen years, born at [blank]; servant to Mr. Pound, recusant.

William Clarke, about the age of eighteen years, born at [blank]; servant to Mr. Hide.

Thomas White, about the age of thirteen years, born at Wisbech; servant to Mr. Ithell.

Edward Overton, about the age of fifteen years, born at Wisbech; servant to Mr. Southworth.

John Gooday, about the age of thirteen years, born at Haddenham; servant to Mr. Buckley.

Henry Cutler, about the age of eighteen years, born at Wisbech; servant to Mr. Taylor."

Father Weston says that it was like a place of pilgrimage. Justice Young reported[1] to the Lord Keeper, under date January 2, 159$\frac{3}{4}$, that Mrs. Jane Wiseman "was at Wisbech with the seminaries and Jesuits there, and she did repent that she had not gone barefooted thither, and she is a great reliever of them, and she made a rich vestment and sent it them, as your lordship doth remember as I think, when you and my Lord of Buckhurst sent to Wisbech to search, for that I had letters which did decipher all her doings." And again,[2] April 14, 1594, "Mrs. Jane Wiseman hath been also a great receiver and harbourer of Seminary priests, and other bad persons, and went to Wisbech with her two daughters, where (as she saith) she was absolved and blessed by Father Edmonds the Jesuit, and since that time her daughters are sent beyond seas to be professed nuns, as other two her daughters were before."

William Wiseman, her son, in his examination,[3] March 19, 1594, said that he "was with Father Edmonds at Wisbech about Michaelmas last was twelve months, and there saw and spake with him, both privately and in company."

Such may serve as specimens, and they only come to our knowledge because they came to the knowledge of the Government. In all this the authorities must have seen the esteem in which Father Weston was held by Catholics. When they chose, what was done at Wisbech Castle was perfectly well known. Edward Hall, the porter, told[4] them even that "some of them would not acknowledge Mr. Edmonds, a Jesuit, to have any government over them, whilst others were content he should govern according to the custom of their Colleges in France."

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxlvii. n. 3.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ccxlviii. n. 68.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. ccxlviii. n. 36; *Condition of Catholics*, p. 1.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. cclvi. n. 116.

And the report[1] from which extracts respecting others have been previously given, said of him: "William Edmonds, a Jesuit, a very dangerous man, and in especial account amongst the Papists, was sent thither from the Clink, and was suspected to be a great practiser of treasons." With this sense of his prominence, it is not to be wondered at that when Elizabeth's Ministers resolved to make a thorough change at Wisbech, they should have separated Father Weston from the others, and have consigned him to the Tower of London.

The discipline at Wisbech again became more severe, and this severity was renewed from time to time even after the accession of King James. Father Garnet wrote to Father Persons,[2] September 8, 1601, "The prisoners [at Wisbech] were suffered to buy nothing but bread and drink. I understand that dured [lasted] for few meals. Now they buy their own meat, but are kept from their chambers, and are not suffered to have their beds, but in two strait rooms forced to lie on mats on the ground to the number of twenty. . . . Some there be exempted and live by themselves in chambers, Mr. Pound, Ralph Emerson, by reason of his infirmity," &c. And again,[3] October 4, 1605, just a month before the Gunpowder Plot, "The prisoners at Wisbech are almost famished. They are very close, and can have no help from abroad, but the King allowing a mark [13*s.* 4*d.*] a week for each one, the keeper maketh his gains, and giveth them meat but three times a week."

Poor little Brother Ralph Emerson was in a helpless state that rendered imprisonment a peculiar hardship. A stroke of paralysis deprived him of the use of half his body, and in this condition he lingered till James I. came to the throne. He was then shipped off to Flanders,

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcix. n. 91.
[2] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 554.
[3] *Ibid.* fol. 563.

after twenty years all but a few months spent in English prisons, and he died at St. Omers on the 12th of March, 1604. It was a mistake to say[1] that he was at Wisbech with Father Weston. At Wisbech, Father Weston never had more than two Jesuits at a time for his companions. Mr. Pound and Father Metham were the first, and Father Metham had been dead five years before Father Bickley was admitted into the Society. Weston and Pound were removed together, and Bickley then remained the only Jesuit at Wisbech till in February, 1600, Father Christopher Holiwood, an Irish Jesuit, who had been captured the year before, was sent thither from the Gatehouse, Father Edward Coffin from the Counter in Wood Street, and Ralph Emerson from the Clink. They were all banished together in 1603.[2]

It is not possible to resist the temptation of saying one word in passing of another religious, though not of his own order, who was with Father Weston at Wisbech during the later portion of his imprisonment there. His name appears in the Harleian list[3] as "Father Buckley." There were two of the name, and they have this in common, that each was a connecting link between the religious of Queen Mary's time and their brethren in the revival of their respective orders in the days of persecution. Which of the two this was is not quite plain. Bishop Challoner thinks that it was John Buckley, who was also called Godfrey Morris, or Jones, a Franciscan,[4] who had been brought up by the

[1] *Supra*, p. 44.

[2] Anno 1603 "ejecti sunt etiam quatuor Patres Societatis Jesu, scil. P. Christophorus Holiwodus, Hibernus, P. Rogerus [Henricus] Floydus, P. Edouardus Coffinus, P. Radulphus Bickleus, et Frater Radulphus Emerson" (*Douay Diary*). Of Father Holiwood, Father Garnet wrote, "He doth much comfort our friends at Wisbech, and was of exceeding edification in the Gatehouse." May 22, 1600 (Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 552). "To Framlingham went out of the Tower, Wright, Archer, Pound, Alabaster." July 7, 1601 (*Ibid.* fol. 539).

[3] *Supra*, p. 266.

[4] *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 13.

Franciscans at Greenwich, the brave men of whom Friar Forest was one, and was martyred at St. Thomas Waterings, July 12, 1598. But it seems more probable that it was Sigebert Buckley,[1] a Benedictine monk of Westminster, around whom, after the accession of James I., the venerable Anglo-Benedictine Congregation was formed. It is time, however, for us now to bid Wisbech farewell, leaving there many worthy confessors of Christ, while we accompany Father Weston back to London.

Father Bartoli tells us that one of the justices of Wisbech was commissioned to send in safe custody to London Father Weston and three others. He chose the dinner hour as the time when they would necessarily be out of their cells, and thus be unable to destroy any papers or conceal anything they had. The first name called out was Edmund Weston, then Giles Archer, Christopher Southworth, and lastly Thomas Pound; and when they had been successively consigned to the keepers he had brought with him, he proceeded to search their rooms and to take possession of all their letters and papers, as well as their altar furniture. Dr. Christopher Bagshawe is not mentioned as removed from Wisbech at this time, but his transfer cannot have been long afterwards, for his name appears with the others in a list of the priests, prisoners in London, in February, 159$\frac{8}{9}$. Mr. Dodd says of him that "not long afterwards he found means to be discharged of his confinement." It can hardly be a mere coincidence that in 1601 there should have appeared from his pen one of those violent books to which allusion has been made above.

It was mid-winter when Father Weston was taken to London, and the journey occupied three days. But the cold and the foul winter roads were a preparation for further suffering. The apprehension at Wisbech had been

[1] Dodd, *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 137.

so sudden that there had been no time to put off the Jesuit habit that Father Weston was accustomed to wear in prison. Thus conspicuous, he was kept for two hours standing in the midst of the London mob, a punishment in itself little short of the pillory, till the Privy Council decided where the prisoners were to go. Archer and Pound accompanied Father Weston to the Tower; Christopher Southworth, a son of that noble confessor, Sir John Southworth, and, it would seem, a brother of John Southworth, who died a martyr in 1654, was sent to the Gatehouse.[1]

It was in the power of the officials of the Tower to make imprisonment tolerable, entailing in fact, no further suffering than the loss of liberty; but it was also in their power, without resorting to actual torture, to make it intolerable. Father Weston was there for four years and a half, and it was a time of great suffering. A cell was assigned him where the air was foul and the smell pestilent. It was lighted by one small window, so small that its light was scarcely sufficient to enable him to read. His one book was a Bible, and his one occupation was to read and re-read it when the light was sufficient to enable

1 "*Tower*—Edmonds.
Archer.
Gatehouse—Two Irish priests.
Dr. Bagshawe.
Christopher Southworth.
Newgate—Nicholas Knight.
Nicholas Linche.
Robert Barwis.
Anthony Rowse.
Wood Street—Edward Coffin.
Counter—Robert Benson.
King's Bench—John Pibush.
Marshalsea—John Champney.
Clink—William Cornwallis.
Edward Hughes.
Edward Tempest.
Bridewell—Wright."
(P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cclxx. n. 45; Feb. 159.)

him to do so, and to ponder over what he read when his eyes failed him. His breviary had been taken from him, and for a very long time he had no means of obtaining another, for his confinement was strictly solitary. Ordinarily the prisoners in the Tower were supplied with all they required from their friends outside, and the plan was a profitable one for those in charge of them; but this was a privilege of those who had what, speaking comparatively, deserved its name of the "liberty of the prison." In the Tower, above all places in England, it was possible entirely to isolate those who were "close prisoners." Father Weston was thus isolated. For the whole time of his imprisonment, we are told by Father de Peralta, who is careful in what he says, Father Weston was not able once to go to confession, or to speak face to face with a friend. And for the first two years he had for gaoler a sour-tempered, harsh man, who never spoke to him a kind word; and once even used blows to force him to give up a rosary that he had managed to keep in spite of the searches to which he had been subjected. At that time the Lieutenant of the Tower, who was his only other visitor, had nothing for him but reproaches, and all the poor Father's power of abstraction in prayer was insufficient to save him from sometimes brooding on them. The bribes offered by his friends were unavailing, and for two years no communication whatever reached him from them or them from him. No wonder that, as he told Father de Peralta, it was not an uncommon thing for the close prisoners in the Tower to go out of their minds.

When the first two years were over, his gaoler was changed, and though he still was not allowed intercourse even with a fellow-prisoner, his new gaoler permitted him some little change. It was doubtful whether it was a change for the better, except that it brought with it sunlight after the long twilight of his cell, and fresh air

to breathe. He was now allowed to go on the roof of his tower, but this involved being locked out there, solitary as before, and exposed to all weathers, until, the last thing at night, his keeper came to take him back to his comfortless cell, sometimes wet through and stiff with cold.

To make the solitude more solitary, and the crown of patience still brighter, it pleased God that his eyesight should fail. Straining his eyes for two years to read in the dark, had overtaxed them. Father Garnet got intelligence of him about this time, and wrote[1] under date January 14th, 160$\frac{0}{1}$, "I am in hand to get out our cousin William Weston. If it be done, it will cost well. His eyes are not well yet, and one he thinketh he shall never use." But all attempts to procure his release were unavailing, and as long as Elizabeth lived, Father Weston lingered on in his dark prison, and the eyesight did not improve. When he was set free, after her death, Father Garnet wrote again,[2] May 14th, 1603, "Yesterday went from London, Father Weston, a man beloved and admired of his enemies. He hath almost lost his eyes."

It may well be imagined how the eye was turned inward all that time. If the life was to be borne at all, it could only be by the exercise of the most fervent piety. To the practice of an ascetic life Father Weston devoted himself in the spirit of one of the Fathers of the Desert. At Wisbech his life had been one of great severity to himself, and of it we have the testimony[3] of Giles Archer, the priest who was immured with him in the Tower. "I have continued and daily conversed with him for the space of ten years. He was first committed to the Clink; after some time sent down to Wisbech. It is well known to all

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 546.
[2] *Ibid.* fol. 547.
[3] Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. M.* fol. 201.

that company that for the space of seven years together he never came into any bed to repose his wearied body, ever rising from the ground, where he couched, at four of the clock, and never lay down again until eleven at night. The whole space of the said seven years, he used only one meal in the day, which was also very temperate. He never drank wine, but only at the altar, nor any strong drink, if possibly any small might be gotten."

In the Tower he took to soaking all that they brought him to eat in cold water, to make it tasteless and insipid, but he discontinued this when he found it was injuring his health. His nights were passed on the damp floor. Once the lieutenant, from compassion, sent him a bed. Father Weston slept in it the following night, and in the morning, turning to his Bible, the first verse that met his eye was that in the twenty-sixth chapter of Proverbs: "As the door turneth upon its hinges, so doth the slothful upon his bed," and he did not feel encouraged to persevere in abandoning his former practice.

The Earl of Essex came one day to visit the Tower, and Father de Peralta remembered the name, for it was that of the general who led the expedition against Cadiz. He happened to visit some tower that commanded a view of the leads where Father Weston spent so many hours. He saw him on his knees and motionless in prayer. The Earl turned to his companions, after observing him for a while, and said to them, "I should not think that he was the great traitor they make him out to be." Another story Father de Peralta tells is, that a gentleman once seeing him there, sent him some crown pieces as an alms. Father Weston declined them, on which the giver sent him the message: *Domine, cur non accipis has pecunias?* His appearance on his little tower was not always, however, the signal for compassion. Bigotry was strong enough, even among those who were in the same con-

demnation, to cause them to throw stones at him from one or two places where his position was overlooked.

The all but unbroken solitude, and the continual tension of the mind on spiritual subjects, was, as might be expected, injurious to the bodily health. Uninterrupted prayer is said[1] to be like a fine saw, that imperceptibly cuts through the frail frame of man. It is the sharp sword cutting its own scabbard. Father Weston's effort was undistractedly to maintain the actual sense of the Divine Presence. Six hours he devoted daily to prayer by a rule that he laid down for himself, and this was often increased. His belief was that he had conflicts with evil spirits, not interiorly only, but physically. He believed that they appeared to him visibly, and that the temptations they suggested to him were audibly uttered. Their importunities for a time were incessant day and night, that he should put an end to it all by his own hand, and his belief was that they offered him the rope with which to hang himself or the knife to cut his throat. He thought they roused him from his sleep by blows, and he said himself that for a space of fifty days he had not more than ten hours' sleep.

But his spirit was far from being always in desolation and temptation. At one time in particular, while, absorbed in prayer, he offered to God his eyesight, his hearing, and his mental powers, all of which he expected to lose, he thought he saw a bright ray of light descending like a thread from heaven, and a voice saying, "By this thread thou dost depend on My Providence: I am with thee; abandon not thyself." The temptation in all great trouble is to think one's-self forgotten by God. And His goodness never fails then to bring home to the soul that it has a loving Father in heaven.

This was his own account of his feelings afterwards, but he could hardly ever be induced to allude to that terrible time. To one or two most intimate friends, of

[1] Rodriguez, *Christian Perfection*, part 2, treatise 1, ch. 1.

whom De Peralta was one, he told a little of what he had suffered, and where he had found comfort. A fellow-student of his at Cordova, Father Juan de Pineda, who, when he came there, was at Rome as Procurator of the Province of Andalusia, gathered some insight into his interior life, and spoke of him always as a man who had a particular light from heaven and lived in singular closeness with God.

Every effort to procure his liberation failed, and the weary time went on. At last Queen Elizabeth died, and the prison doors opened. Framlingham, and Wisbech, and the Tower gave up their captives, but liberty in their native land was linked with a condition that Weston for one could not accept. To remain in England Catholics must attend the services of the Protestant Church; if they would not do so, they must exchange their imprisonment for exile.

James was proclaimed March 24, 160$\frac{3}{3}$, and a royal pardon was at once granted, but it was a month after the liberation of the other prisoners that its benefits were extended to Father Weston. The Lieutenant of the Tower then showed the impression that had been made on him by the patience of his prisoner. He invited him to dine, gave him, says Father Bartoli, eighty reals [*2l.*], lent him a place to live in within the Tower, and gave him full liberty to see his friends. And of his keeper a saying is recorded that he had had Norton, the rack-master, for a prisoner as well as Father Weston, and that "the Calvinist was a devil, while the Jesuit was a saint." Father Thomas Garnet[1] used to tell his fellow-novices at Louvain that the Constable of Wisbech, Medeley we must suppose, reading Watson's *Quodlibets* when they appeared, after Father Weston's transfer to the Tower, and coming on the calumnies against his old prisoner, flung the book from him, affirming with an oath that

[1] More, *Hist. Prov.* lib. iv. c. 24, p. 154.

all that was said about Weston was false, and that the life that he had led at Wisbech had been so innocent and holy that he would be glad to get a place in such a man's prayers.

Father Weston left the Tower, May 13,[1] 1603. A crowd of persons assembled on the Tower Quay to see him embark. Protestants were moved by curiosity, and Catholics by devotion to see the famous Jesuit, Father Edmonds, who had been seventeen years in prison. The Catholics made no secret of their veneration. They fell on their knees about him, kissed his hands and begged his blessing, feeling sure, like those of Ephesus when St. Paul left them, that they should see his face no more. God, who often shows His acceptance of a generous will by the sacrifice of the very proferred service itself, and the substitution of a cross to be borne in union with the Prince of Pastors, had allowed Father Weston to be actively engaged, in behalf of the souls for whom he risked his life, for two years only at liberty of the nineteen that he had now spent in England. The coveted palm of martyrdom was not bestowed, and Father Weston must now go into exile, after a missionary career that the world would regard as a failure, but which was as acceptable to God as if the goodwill had been crowned by the most brilliant success. All that our Master asks of us is to be content with the lot that He assigns to us, and thus he who succeeds and he who fails, the reaper and the sower, may rejoice together.

There was a boat waiting on the Thames, and four priests with three royal pursuivants for travelling companions. They left the river at Gravesend, thence passed to Canterbury, and on to Dover, and it was not till they reached Calais that Father Weston was left free by his

[1] Bartoli is wrong in saying that the day on which Father Weston left the Tower was May 3, N.S. May 13, O.S. was May 23, N.S. He is still further wrong in naming Monday before Whit Sunday (June 6) as the date of the order for his liberation (*Inghilterra*, lib. vi. cap. 1, p. 466).

guards to go his way. He went straight to St. Omers, where his brethren in religion made him welcome, almost blind, half broken down, prematurely old—a venerable confessor for the cause of Christ. Three or four lines of a letter to Father Persons were as much as either his weakened eyesight, or his impaired power of attention would permit him to write.

The scrap of a letter[1] from Father Garnet, from which a few words have been already quoted, written the day after Father Weston's departure, runs thus: "May 14, 1603. Yesterday went from London Father Weston, a man beloved and admired of his enemies. He hath almost lost his eyes. I wish first he go to Flamsted for his rest, and then to Joseph [Father Joseph Cresswell in Spain. *Father Grene's marginal note*], for he came from that place and hath the language. There went with Father Weston, Mr. Wright, Friar Baily, &c. All broke away but poor Father Weston." The Douay Diary gives the names of those sent into banishment with Weston as Thomas Wright,[2] Andrew Bailey, a Dominican, John Roberts, a Benedictine, and a priest named James West, of whom the Diary says, "lunaticus si non demens." Father John Roberts, O.S.B., called in religion Father John de Mervinia, died a martyr's death at Tyburn, December 10, 1610.

Whether by "Flamsted" Father Garnet meant St. Omers or Rome is not certain, but it most probably was the former. However to Rome Father Weston went, at Father General's request, after he had rested himself a little in Flanders. Some months were spent by him there, and his health soon showed the benefit of the change. At first it had seemed as though he could not live half a

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 547.

[2] This Thomas Wright was seventeen years in the Society, and was dismissed about 1597. He is well distinguished from the Dean of Courtrai, by Dr. Jessopp in his edition of *Father Walpole's Letters*, p. 55.

year, and as if his work on earth were done. However, he soon rallied, and becoming fit to resume work, he was sent to Spain, for which, as Father Garnet had noted, his knowledge of the language and familiarity with the place, fitted him. He went first to Valladolid, and thence in 1605 to Seville, where he remained nine years.

He was received in Spain by his old companions with open arms. Wherever he went he found the fathers who had been with him in the Novitiate or Scholasticate, now Rectors and Superiors. His prudence, his sanctity, his affability were not forgotten, and those who had known him twenty years before were delighted to have him amongst them, his virtues matured by the constancy with which he had suffered for the Faith. And not only was he welcome amongst his brethren in religion, but in Seville in particular there were many gentlemen in the world and ecclesiastics, even among the members of both Chapters, who had been his penitents, and were glad again to put themselves under his guidance.

The warm dry climate of Seville suited his health perfectly, so that he soon recovered his eyesight and hearing, and lost the habit of sleeplessness. He was thus able to undertake a full share of work. Besides being confessor, he was made Spiritual Father of the English College, giving his exhortations to the students in English, and to the lay-brothers in Spanish. He spoke with great facility, Father de Peralta, who was now his Rector, tells us, and with such unction and fervour that his words kindled a fire in the hearts of his hearers. Besides these more spiritual duties, he gave lectures of moral theology, and resumed his old classes of languages, teaching alternate Hebrew and Greek. In this occupation he continued for nine years, "edifying us, encouraging us, consoling us," says his biographer, till in June, 1614, Father General thought well to make him Rector of the English College at Valladolid.

He felt the change very much, for both the climate of Seville and his occupations there were exactly adapted to him. The cold of Valladolid he thought would kill him, and he told Father de Peralta that he went there to die. But he bowed his head to the judgment of his superiors, and as he had done all his life, showed himself to be a good and obedient religious. What an excellent choice the General had made was visible in the peace and contentment that reigned in the College while he was its Superior. Father Anthony Hoskins was then Vice-President of the mission, living at Madrid, and having charge of the English Jesuit houses in Spain, and he often told Father de Peralta that he had never seen a College so peaceful or so united with its Rector, and he attributed it as a special blessing from heaven, merited by the holiness of Father Weston's life. It lasted, however, but a short time, for the good Father's anticipations were verified, and as he died when he had been at Valladolid but nine months, he may well be said to have given his life as a martyr to obedience. That transfer cost him more, says Father de Peralta, than anything he had been called upon to do since he entered the Society. Father Weston was brought up in the same school of virtue as Blessed Father Peter Favre, and he may well have said, as the first priest in the Society had learnt from St. Ignatius to say, that whether his life was long or short mattered little, but whether his soul was obedient mattered much.

William Weston died at Valladolid on the 9th of April, 1615, at two o'clock in the morning. At first his illness seemed to be of little importance, but a malignant fever manifested itself which the doctors could not subdue. The words he used when told that he would die were, *Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus.* By a remarkable phrase used by him as death came near, he showed the confidence in God

that had always distinguished him. *Non timeo, Domine, non timeo; tu scis quia non timeo*—"I do not fear, O Lord, I do not fear; Thou knowest that I do not fear." These little traits of the last dispositions of Father Weston, together with details of the virtues manifested by him, are mentioned in the Circular sent round to the Houses of the Society on the occasion of his death by Father Thomas Silvester, then Minister of St. Alban's College at Valladolid. In the corridor of that College a picture of its saintly Rector hangs,[1] surrounded by pictures of the noble sons of St. Alban, who, like the English proto-martyr, gave their lives for their Faith. Another picture of him there is; or until lately there was, on the walls of the Roman Novitiate of St. Andrew's on the Quirinal, a copy of which, made by Mr. Charles Weld, of Chideock, serves as the frontispiece to this Life.

Father Weston died in his sixty-fifth year, and in the fortieth of his religious life. His last vows—the four solemn vows of a professed Father of the Society—he had the consolation of taking on the 2nd of August, 1598, while still at Wisbech. This, Father Nathaniel Southwell[2] has taken from the Catalogue of the Professed, and he is the only writer who has mentioned it. Father Weston's Requiem was performed not only at the English College, but also at the Professed House of the Society at Valladolid, and was numerously attended. A Spanish preacher of renown, Father Francis Labata, preached his funeral sermon, and in it he told a capital story. He said that in the midst of an exorcism Father Weston was asked by a devil for leave to enter into Queen Elizabeth. "No," said Father Weston, "she is my Queen, though she is not of my religion. I would do her a service, but I wish her no harm." "Well, then," the devil asked, "may I

[1] The inscription calls Father Weston "a native of Durham," but apparently without reason.

[2] Stonyhurst MSS., *Catalogus primorum Patrum*, p. 15.

come into you?" "As God pleases," the Father replied. "I had as soon go into a holy water pot," said the devil.[1]

The head of Father Weston is reverently kept at Roehampton, in the sacristy of the Novitiate of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. It was restored to us in a singular manner.

On the scull itself there has been written: *Para el Provincial de Inglaterra. y su Provincia. Cabeza del Venerable Padre Guillermo Weston, de la Compañia de Jesus. Asi lo testifico yo que la vi sacar de su sepultura. Juan Friman. Jorge Garnet. Notario Apostolico.*

After the revolution, early in this century, the house which up to the suppression of the Society had been the English Tertianship, the foundation of Anne, Countess of Arundel, had become the residence of the Bishop of Ghent. In 1817, Father Charles Waldack, whose recent loss we deplore, often saw a scull on the mantel-piece of the room occupied by the Bishop's secretary, the Chanoine Boussen, in that house. It was kept by him simply as a *memento mori*, and when the worthy Canon was made Bishop of Bruges, he gave the *tête de mort* to one of the religious of a community in Ghent, of which he had been the director. Some years afterwards Father Waldack had given a retreat in the convent, and the Superioress told him that one of the religious, who was now very old, wanted to make him a present. When he learnt what the present was, he accepted it and carried it away to his room. One day reading the History of the Society by Jouvency, his eye was struck by the name of Weston, which he remembered to have seen written upon the scull. Somewhat later, Father Waldack, being Socius to the Belgian Provincial and Procurator of that Province, was thrown into relations with Father Randal Lythgoe, the English Provincial, on his visits to Belgium.

[1] More, *Hist. Prov.* lib. iv. c. 25, p. 155.

To Father Lythgoe, at his earnest request, Father Waldack gave the head of Father Weston, and by him it was immediately sent to Father Connell, then Master of Novices at Hodder; and from that time it has been kept with affection and veneration by the English Novices of the Society. The Roman Novices had his picture among them; those of his own Province are encouraged, by the possession of this precious relic, to bear in honoured remembrance this man of austerity and prayer.

II.

THE FALL OF ANTHONY TYRRELL.

The Fall of Anthony Tyrrell was prepared for the Press by Father Persons. Probably the news of first one and then another relapse of the man whose "fall" was thus multiplied, prevented its publication. The relapses of the subject of the narrative would certainly have spoiled the edification of the story, and it would no longer have carried all the warning to the Catholics of England that it was written to convey. With us it is otherwise. Our wish is to ascertain the historical features of a very interesting period, and we wish to learn not only what was done by the strong and brave, but also by the weak and cowardly. The sort of pressure that was brought to bear on Catholics who fell into the hands of Elizabeth's Ministers, the conduct of those Ministers, the instruments that they used, and indeed created; all this concerns us much, if we would form for ourselves a true idea of the "Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers."

The main staple of the following pages is Father Persons' narrative. It is illustrated by the original papers in the Public Record Office and the British Museum, which fall naturally into their places and bear out the story.

Two copies exist of Father Persons' work, both of which are in the English College at Rome. Both are in quarto and are bound in white vellum. The first consists of one hundred and twenty-seven pages, well and clearly written, and in excellent preservation. It is on English paper, in a contemporary English binding, and is revised and corrected by a contemporary hand.

The other copy is in fifty-four pages, and on the side there is written in Father Christopher Grene's well-known hand, "P. Rob. Personii." This also is a contemporary manuscript, but in bad condition, in some places nearly destroyed by the action of the

acid in the ink. It was probably written in Rome, and copied from the other manuscript.

The Reverend Joseph Stevenson has sent home a transcript to the Public Record Office, and Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, has kindly allowed it to be used for the present publication.

THE FALL OF ANTHONY TYRRELL.

INTRODUCTION.

LORD ACTON, in a letter to the *Times* newspaper of November 24th, 1874, expressed himself in the following words. "The case of Tyrrell, in the time of Gregory XIII., resembles that of Ridolfi, but Mr. Froude gives, I think, good reason to doubt the evidence on which it rests." Mr. Froude has had some severe things said of him, but nothing so severe as this has been said before. It can have no sense if it is not ironical. "The case of Ridolfi," in Lord Acton's language, signifies that Pope St. Pius V. sanctioned Ridolfi's plan for the murder of Queen Elizabeth. "The case of Tyrrell," signifies that Pope Gregory XIII. approved of a similar plan which Tyrrell is supposed to have put before him. In Lord Acton's judgment Mr. Froude gives "good reason to doubt the evidence" on which Tyrrell's case rests. Yet Mr. Froude calmly relates it as though it were undoubtedly and undeniably true.

"It was towards the close of the Pontificate of Gregory XIII.," we read in his pages,[1] "that two young English Jesuits, Anthony Tyrrell, who tells the story, and Foscue or Fortescue, better known as Ballard, and concerned afterwards in the Babington conspiracy, set out upon a journey to Rome on a noticeable errand." The footnote contains a reference to "Confessions of Anthony Tyrrell, made in the Tower." To readers who are accus-

[1] *History of England*, vol. xi. chap. xxv. p. 302.

tomed to Mr. Froude's habitual inaccuracy in the statement of facts, it is hardly needful to say that they must not think because Mr. Froude thinks well to say so, either that Tyrrell was ever in the Tower, or that he or Ballard were Jesuits. The one is as false as the other. And it is not less false, that Gregory XIII. approved of a proposal for the assassination of Queen Elizabeth. But Mr. Froude, who gives such "good reason to doubt the evidence" on which the story rests, not only tells it as Tyrrell's story, but he repeats his calumny without any mention of Tyrrell's name, at a later stage of his "History,"[1] when he introduces John Ballard as "one of the two Jesuits who had sought and obtained the sanction of Gregory XIII. to the Queen's murder, and who had since clung to his purpose with the tenacity of a sleuth-hound."

Tyrrell wrote his story when he wanted to purchase Lord Burghley's favour; and when he was out of Burghley's reach, he wrote to Queen Elizabeth in these words. "As for Pope Gregory, I protest, as I hope to be saved, I never heard him speak anything unto your Majesty's prejudice or harm; but I have heard him with my own ears, and seen with mine own eyes to shed tears for your Majesty, wishing that all the blood in his body were spilt to do you any good. And so far he hath been from persuading us to any treachery towards your person, as he hath by his own mouth commanded us to pray for you, and not to intermeddle in anything but that directly concerned our profession; and this is the worst that ever I did know Pope Gregory to wish you, whom I have most falsely accused in many things."

In a note Mr. Froude refers to this passage as it stands in the pages of Strype,[2] but only to reject it as having been written when Tyrrell had "fallen again into the hands of the priests." Mr. Froude adds, what

[1] *History of England*, vol. xii. chap. xxxiv. p. 227.
[2] *Annals*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 431.

is quite true, that when Tyrrell was in custody once more he "withdrew his recantation." But how often the poor creature changed his religion and recanted his recantations Mr. Froude does not say. In that which follows respecting him, we have to put before the reader the story of a man who was four times a Catholic and three times turned Protestant. The case is singular enough, and the story very instructive, for it lets us see what influence was brought to bear on any priests in Queen Elizabeth's prisons who showed signs of weakness, and what work was expected of them in return for the gift of their lives. As for that which comes from his pen, the reader must judge for himself, from the circumstances, when the man is telling the truth, and when he is telling lies. He wrote equally well, saving the prolixity in which that age delighted, on either side. When he was free he wrote one way, when in duress another; but at the end, as Father Weston has already[1] told us, he showed on which side he thought it best to die.

"George Tyrrell" is noted by Dr. Bridgewater[2] as having "left England with his two sons, in order that he might continue faithful to the Church of God." Anthony Tyrrell was one of those sons. The family was of knightly rank, and since that time it has had two baronetcies conferred on it. It claimed descent from Sir Walter Tyrrell, who shot William Rufus. Historians might express their doubts, the heralds felt none; and one of them,[3] in his *Visitation of Arms*, places at the top of the family pedigree the following quaint note of the event, of the antiquity of which, at least, the family was probably proud. "This Sir Walter Tyrrell, shooting at a deer, unaware hit King William Rufus in the breast, that he fell down dead and

[1] *Supra*, p. 207. [2] *Concertatio:* Brevis descriptio, fol. 3.
[3] *Harleian MSS.* 1398, fol. 4.

never spake word: the King at that time being hunting in the New Forest, being the morrow after Lammas day, *anno* 1100, *anno regni sui* 13. His body was laid upon a collier's cart, and drawn with one silly lean beast to the City of Winchester, and there buried."

The eighth in descent from Sir Walter was Sir James Tyrrell, who married the daughter of Sir William Heron, by whom, in the time of Edward II., the estate of Heron in Essex came to the family. Their great grandson, Sir John, was Treasurer of the Household to King Henry VI., and his three sons were founders of three branches of the family, the eldest son of Heron, the second of Gypping in Suffolk, and the third of Beeches. Of Sir Thomas, the eldest of these three, descended in the third degree Sir Thomas, who married Constance, daughter of John Blount, Lord Mountjoy. He had six sons and three daughters, the fourth son being George, the father of Anthony Tyrrell. The eldest son, John, married Anne, daughter of Sir William Browne, Lord Mayor of London. He left no son, but Sir Henry Baker of Kent, Bart., was descended from his daughter. He died April 3, 1540, and his widow married Sir William Petre, by whose death, January 13, 157½, she a second time became a widow. Their son, Sir John Petre, was created Baron Petre of Writtle, July 21, 1603. Sir William Petre's first wife, by whom he had two daughters, also connected him with the Tyrrell family. She was Gertrude, daughter of Sir John Tyrrell of Warley.

John Tyrrell dying without male heirs, the family estate of Heron came to his brother, Sir Henry. The third son was Sir William, a knight of Rhodes; then came George, Thomas, and Charles, a physician. The daughters were Ada, who was drowned, Catharine, who married George Keble of Newbottle, co. Northampton, and Anne, whose first husband was named Knight, and the second Knighton.

The family were Catholics, and stood well with Queen Mary. Charles was recommended to Sir William Petre by Lord Rich for a vacant pensionership[1] in 1554, and later, Lord Rich wrote to express to the Queen Charles Tyrrell's desire to serve her. Queen Mary appointed Edward Tyrrell Warden of the Fleet prison: he was probably a cadet of the same family. Their Catholicity was less useful in Elizabeth's reign, and when, combining persecution and diversion, in one of her royal progresses in 1578, the Papists of Essex were summoned[2] "to be dealt withal by my lords in this progress," one entry made was, "Sir Henry Tyrrell is sick; his two sons come to the church." The steadiest to his faith of all the family was George Tyrrell, the father of Anthony, and we accidentally get an insight into the state of destitution to which he was reduced by his constancy in his faith.

At Michaelmas, 1573, George, then an old man, left his wife and daughter at Cambray in Belgium, and went on foot, accompanied by his other son, carrying such luggage as they took with them, to implore aid of the King of Spain. That his journey was not in vain we may gather from a note[3] among the State Papers of "Englishmen entertained by the King of Spain," dated in November, 1573. "Tyrrell," it says, "Cotton, Pet, Tichborne, Strodlen, Swinborn, Greffy, and Smith, 1300 ducats; and some 20 ducats, some 15 ducats a month in Flanders or Milan."

At this time Anthony's only sister, Gertrude, entered religion. There was then but one English convent on the Continent, though St. Ursula's Convent of the Canonesses of St. Augustine, at Louvain, might almost deserve the name under Mother Margaret Clement's government. The first house of Benedictinesses was founded in 1598 by

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Mary*, vol. ii. n. 4; vol. iii. n. 5.
[2] *Cotton. MSS.*, Titus B. iii. n. 60.
[3] P.R.O., *Domestic, Addenda, Elizabeth*, vol. xxiii. n. 61.

Lady Mary Percy. In 1574, therefore, there was hardly a religious house for English ladies besides the venerable Convent of Sion of the Order of St. Bridget, which had been driven from place to place, and was now temporarily sojourning at Rouen. In 1580 a "Supplication for poor Sion" was addressed by the Brethren and Sisters to the Catholics of England,[1] and among the good old Catholic names of the Community who sign it is that of Sister Gertrude Tyrrell.

In 1574 Anthony had taken his Bachelor's degree in one of the universities, and all that he wanted was 10*l.* for two years to enable him to proceed to his Master's degree also. Not being able to raise the money, he had to "take another condition not so commodious." He was in the service of some one on the Continent, whom he seems to have left without warning to accompany Christopher Dryland,[2] then a young man "but new come over," and not having yet commenced his studies for the priesthood. Tyrrell started with a crown in his pocket, thinking it enough to take him to Dunkirk, but when they got there, instead of returning they started for England in the same reckless way that later on was to bring Tyrrell into such grave danger to his soul. In England he went about living on his friends and relations, and of these the one that seems to have made him most welcome was his cousin Mary, the daughter of George Keble, and wife of John Paschall of Much Baddow in Essex.

There was a John Paschall who entered the English College of Rome in the year of its opening, 1579, and was there with Anthony Tyrrell. He was of this family, and was one of the first companions of Persons and Campion on their first coming to England in 1580. He was the only one of that company who fell away when his courage was put to the test; but Father Persons adds, "It was

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxlvi. n. 114.

[2] Dryland was ordained priest at Chalons, March 30, 1582.

only of frailty and upon fear of torments that were threatened unto him." His case is thus described by Father Persons,[1] who of course knew him well. "This young man was named John Paschall, a gentleman as I take him, born in Essex, who had been scholar to Mr. Sherwin [Ralph Sherwin the martyr] in Oxford, and dearly beloved of him; and being young and sanguine of complexion, and fervent in his religion, would oftentimes break forth into zealous speeches, offering much of himself (as St. Hierome noteth also of St. Peter before his denial of Christ), but Mr. Sherwin would always reprove him, saying, 'O John, John, little knowest thou what thou shalt do before thou comest to it.' And so it fell out with no little grief of the martyr, who had been in the same prison with his scholar, to wit in the Marshalsea, and was no sooner removed from him to the Tower but that the other fell."

When Tyrrell was in England he took occasion to present some petition to the Lord Treasurer. His father, as we shall shortly see, thanked Lord Burghley for his kindness to his son. In all probability he means, not that Burghley granted the petition, whatever it was, but that when Anthony was arrested he gave him his liberty. For the first of Anthony Tyrrell's numerous apprehensions took place now, while he was devising ways and means to return to his family abroad. He was taken at Milton, probably Milton next Sittingbourne, in Kent, a town situated at the head of a creek which opens into the Channel between the Isle of Sheppey and the coast of Kent. He was sent by his captor to Lord Rich, with the following letter,[2] which will show how sharp a look-out was kept on fugitives, long before a Jesuit had landed in England or the Spanish fleet had threatened her shores.

[1] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 107.

[2] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. xcviii. n. 20.

"It may please your good lordship to be signified that upon Tuesday at night last past, I had advertisement that one Anthony Tyrrell, as he calleth himself, was come to Milton shore, and as he hath declared, which will be justified [proved] that he would go over either to Dunkirk or else to Brydgys [Bruges], whom I have apprehended, examined and searched, and so found about him certain writings, which I do send with him to your lordship by this bearer, Poulter, Constable of Milton, and also his examination taken before me and other; among which writings I found one wherein was written the Queen's Majesty's style, as you may perceive by the said writing, which I have sent you herein inclosed, desiring you to note well the placing of his words, whether it be *Regina* or *Thegina*, besides *Fidei devastatrix*, which as I think is much to be noted. And the same morning that the said Tyrrell was brought to me being Wednesday, he wrote one letter which I do also send you here inclosed, directed to Mr. Robert Tempest, and yet he saith in his examination that his name is Nicholas Tempest, and is all one person as he saith, which is also meet to be noted. Further it may please your good lordship to peruse over all the rest of his writings with good deliberation, for that there be some of them in Latin, which I do not well understand; and some of them that be in English do import as I take it, that some aid is sent to them in Flanders by some in this country, which I do refer to your lordship's good discretion, and so thought good to advertise you thereof. And so committing you to the Almighty God, who preserve and keep you with much increase of honour. From your late park of Raighlye, this 9th of September, *anno Domini* 1574.

"Yours most bounden to command,

"EDWARD BURYE.

"It may please your lordship to understand that I am lame of my right hand, so that I am forced to have one to write for me.

Addressed—"To the right honourable and my singular good lord, the Lord Ryche, give these.

Endorsed—"Examination of Anthony Tyrrell [priest *added in another hand*]."

Of the papers that still accompany this letter, the only one remaining of those mentioned in it is the following.

"Cousin Robert Temp., I have been here according to my promise to meet you. I am returned back again upon earnest occasions. I pray you either come or send to me to my cousin Paschall's of Much Baddow, and if you have any carriage [anything to carry] leave it with your hostess, and bring certain word when you think to find passage, inquiring the same of the goodman Curteis, of whom you shall learn if he be hither come. Ask mine hostess of him, and she will tell you where he dwelleth. Fare ye well, in haste, this Wednesday morning.

"Yours as you know,

"ANTHONY TYR——."

Addressed—"This be delivered to Mr. Robert Tempest, if he come to Milton shore, or to any one that shall inquire for a letter."

Of the other papers two are religious, notes of sermons apparently, one is a short copy of poor verses, the rest either letters prepared to be sent or rough drafts, all in Tyrrell's writing. The verses are these—

Like as the merchant, which on surging seas
In beaten bark hath felt the grievous rage
Of Æolus' blasts, till Neptune for his ease
By princely power their cholers did assuage:
Even so my muse

Doth seem by Fortune's cruel spite
To feel her cup so mixt with bitter gall
As no conceit could make her to delight,
Until she chanced in scholarship to fall
With you, my friend,
Whom mighty Jove hath sent me for relief
When heavy cares would seek for to appease
My pensive mind, and slyly as a thief
Hold me captive still in sore distress.

To one cousin by marriage, whom he calls "good cousin Moore," he writes that he "dare not boldly repair unto his presence for angering the old knight." To another he says:

"Had I thought, dear cousin, that I should thus long have been delayed in my suit, I would not have kept secret my necessity at my last being with you, for the which I am constrained as now to trouble you, not having to my knowledge any friend now living here in England unto whom I dare sooner complain my case than unto you, of whom I have always found, besides a natural good will, most evident proofs of godly piety. Know you, therefore, that I have delivered unto my Lord Treasurer a supplication, declaring the cause of my suit, who having received the same of me hath given me yet no manner of answer, and yet do I repair unto him from day to day, sometimes to the Court, and sometimes to Westminster, but by reason of some earnest affairs I must be fain as yet to dance a longer attendance. Most humbly desiring you (for that I am driven very bare of money), to stand my good friend with some small matter as you may easily pleasure me. I do lie at Gray's Inn with Mr. Tempest, and am in commons also with him, having hitherto discharged all of mine own purse, and now shall be fain to run off the score, unless it shall please your courtesy to minister unto my distress some remedy. Thus not having farther to trouble you, until my business be brought to good end, which I hope shall be shortly, I am

with my humble commendations unto yourself, my dear cousin, your bedfellow, *et sic de reliquis*, do take most humbly my leave. From Gray's Inn on Midsummer day.

"Your poor cousin and faithful beadsman,

"ANTHONY TYRRELL."

He had with him the draft of a long letter to one of his uncles, dated from Cambray, January 24, addressed to his cousin, "Mr. Thomas Tyrrell, esquire." In it he says that his father and brother "have taken that journey in hand, of the which I informed you when I was last in the country. Their constraint was such for want of friends, as the poor old man was fain to go on foot, and his son to bear the burden. I pray God be their good speed and comfort, and send them a safe return. . . . Your niece my sister hath bequeathed herself unto God, and hath forsaken this miserable world, wherein she perceived nothing else but care and misery, and hath taken up her cross, as this bearer can tell you, by whom I commend you the residue, if you desire to know. My mother remaineth all desolate, deprived of husband and children, not having where to disburden her sorrows but only to God. . . . Most humbly beseeching you with weeping tears (most dearly beloved) to send by this bearer unto my poor desolate mother some comfort, and to solicit her cause towards my good Lady, whose friendly promise as yet remaineth in her Ladyship's hands to perform. . . . I have by the help of God and good friends gone so far in my study as I have taken the degree of a Bachelor in Art, and now for want of assistance I am forced to forsake the University, and take another condition not so commodious unto me. If among all the friends that I have in the world I could make but 10*l.* for two years, I should go forth graduate a Master, and be then able to pleasure myself and recompense my friends. 4*l.* for two years I am promised in these parts. I stand but

now destitute for *6l.*, the which among a number of good ability were no hindrance, and unto me a perpetual benefit. . . . Commend me, I pray you, unto my good Lady, giving her in my behalf most humble thanks for her benevolence towards me, unto yourself, unto good Mrs. Margaret your wife, Benytt, Elenor, Avys, Tomeson, Sandell, and to the residue of my friends at your discretion. . . . I hope by Easter to hear some news of my father and brother, who departed from Cambray on St. Michael's day last. Hitherto I have heard no manner of word from them, how they speed. In their return you shall be informed. I hope they shall have good success, and that pity will arise in the heart of so noble a prince to hear an aged man's complaint. . . . Your token that you sent by me at my last being in the country, for want of money I was constrained to sell by the way. . . . I am not ashamed to crave some of your cast apparel, whatsoever you could spare."

In another letter he asks "the right worshipful and his singular dear friend and cousin, Mrs. Mary Paschall," to send him letters "unto his cousin White for a cloak cloth, the which he would not crave as a gift."

He went on a begging excursion apparently to his aunt, Lady Petre, who was then, after Sir William Petre's death, living at Ingatestone. He sent a letter before him, the following sentence from which shows the turn for writing, of which we shall have many specimens in the sequel. "Pity me, therefore, good Mrs. Petre, if not for myself unacquainted, yet for my friends, with whom peradventure you are better acquainted; if not for my friends, yet for the love of Him from whom all charity proceedeth."

However, his eloquence did not avail him, as we learn from the fragment of another letter. "Now remaineth nothing else but to declare unto you the entertainment

which we had at Ingerstone,[1] the which because it was not very good beshrew Mrs. Jhones. We came in I think a saturnical hour, for the old drab began upon us so to lower, that although she were my aunt Rebecca's maid, her look would have made the devil himself afraid. Mine aunt she said plainly we might not see, by reason her mistressship's pleasure would have it so to be."

The mention of "Mrs. Jhones" has been the inducement to insert the young gentleman's doggrell, and that because there was a Mr. Jhones, or Johnes, whose letters, with or without excuse, must be inserted here. This Mr. Johnes—Davy Johnes—was a minister, who having got into the Marshalsea prison, found many Catholic priests there, and was reconciled to the Catholic Church. He thus came to be looked upon as a Catholic, and the following letters[2] written by him to Francis Mills, Walsingham's secretary, show the use he made of the information he acquired in houses where he was kindly used.

"Mr. Mills, I do commend me unto you. This shall be to let you understand that I was confessed in the Marshalsea, and twain more with me were confessed, which were Mr. Blewitt, of the sign of the Hanging Sword, in Fleet Street; he doth keep an ordinary tavern for gentlemen, and one David Sadler of Fleet Street also. I do give you to understand that there shall be upon Sunday sennight a Mass at my Lord Bishop Hethe [Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York], which was Bishop of York, and he doth dwell within a little way of Windsor as I heard say, but I will see afore it be long. Also there doth come thither a great sort. Also there is a Mass upon Sunday next at one Mr. Tyrrell's, which

[1] The true name is Ingatestone, *i.e.* the *ing*, or the meadow at the Roman milestone. It formerly belonged to St. Mary's Barking, and Domesday notes, "Ingam tenet semper Sancta Maria." The omen has been good.

[2] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. xcvii. nn. 27, 39; vol. xcviii. n. 10.

doth dwell in a place called Rawle in Essex, and he hath a priest which Mr. George Tyrrell did send over, which was gentleman usher to the Queen's Grace, and I do know well the place where it shall be said, for I did carry a letter from the Marshalsea thither, and possibly to have Master George Tyrrell's man there, who doth use to come over. That house is from London thirty-eight miles, and I am weak. I would fain have your counsel. I shall be going thither two days, and Mr. Archdeacon Walker is the next justice that is to the place. Also of the *20s.* I had of you I did owe for my board *17s.* Also I have not wherewith to carry my cost but *2s.* which Dr. Feckenham gave me. Also you would not think what they of the Marshalsea doth draw unto them, and men doth come unto them daily. Thus I have said my mind. I desire you to send word what is best for me to do, whether to go to Mr. Tyrrell or not, for there is to the number of ten which doth ride thither, and rich men. Thus I will cease to trouble you. I pray Jesus Christ to preserve my good master and you. By me, yours to command to his power,—DAVYE JOHNES, clerk. July 6."

Archbishop Heath died in 1579 at Cobham, in Surrey, where he spent the latter years of his life "with such freedom as is commonly allowed to a prisoner at large."[1] The Nappers, Nappiers or Napiers, mentioned in the next letter, were an Oxford family. The old manor-house in which they lived may still be seen in the outskirts of Oxford in the parish of Holywell. Amongst Anthony Tyrrell's letters there is one to "gentle Mr. Napper." George Napper, who was martyred at Oxford in 1610, was ordained priest in 1596. There must have been another priest of the family, for Johnes evidently means that it was a priest of whose presence in Mr. Tyrrell's house he had given notice to the Justice.

[1] Dodd, *Church History*, vol. i. p. 498.

"Mr. Mills, I have forgotten to let you understand that I did give intelligence unto the Justice of Napper's being in Mr. Tyrrell's house, and if he did not take him, the blame was not in me, for I told what manner of man he was. This I do let you understand, that there is a gentleman named Bocking beyond Colchester, and there is an old priest named Latymer, which was prisoner in the Clink last, but he was in prison this fifteen or fourteen years, and as Mr. Webster doth tell me of the Marshalsea that there is a certain of outlandish men and Englishmen there, and it is from London, eight [miles] beyond Colchester. I do know Latymer well, but if it would please you to send some man there that were of Latymer's acquaintance, he should see all, but I do let to understand that I do not stir, and if I do not come any more to Essex, because they will use a traveller surlily if he have not some certificate with him, and in especial a poor man as we are. Thus I do let you to understand that my feet and my fellow's are very sore with the stocks, and I am fain to leave, an you would give me leave at this time [to go to] Doctor Hethe's house, because I would not put you in charge, for I have no money left. It stood his bower and mine as good as 16*s.* beside our charges going down. Thus I pray God be with my good master that did help me out of prison. I told the Justice of Napper's being upon Sunday after dinner. I desire you to send me a word what your pleasure is afore Saturday at three o'clock afternoon, whether I shall go to Doctor Hethe or not, for I will travel all night an if you will. July 20, 1574."

What Davy Johnes had done to be so surlily used, or who his fellow was, whose feet like his own were "very sore with the stocks," we do not know. But the ingratitude of the man is remarkable. In his first letter he said that he had not wherewith to carry his cost but 2*s.* which Dr. Feckenham gave him; and in the last we

give, he acknowledges that he might starve but for a gentlewoman of the Tyrrell family, whom he calls "his mistress," and yet he proposes to send Walsingham word "when she doth receive," that she and her priest may be taken, and he desires "the benefit of that she doth lose by the statute, if it be but the chain that she doth wear." The "statute" he alludes to is probably the "Statute of Apparel of wives and keeping of horses," 33 Henry VIII., by which gold chains were forbidden.

"Mr. Mills,—I do heartily commend me unto you, and I pray God to save my good master and yours. I have written to know your mind as concerning my going to the Charterhouse and of my going out of the town, for I have no living here to tarry, for the Papists and friends are come abroad and some gone that were of my acquaintance, . . . but I might starve but for a gentlewoman named Mistress Cawkon, a notorious Papist. She was aforetime named Mistress Tyrrell. He was warden of the Fleet, and she was one that was greatly in favour with Queen Mary, and she doth dwell in Reed Boffrett, and she doth wear a chain of gold, and I have seen more books in her house of Papistry than any place else; but concerning the Papists that doth come to her Mass at the Charterhouse, they be to the number of ten the last Sunday, and outlandish men a great number. In all there was there that received about forty, and to let you understand I have many to let you know of since I have sent unto you, but this, my mistress as I do call her, named Cawkon, afore Tyrrell, confessed unto me that she was in no church this fifteen years. Mr. Mills, I will send you word when she doth receive. I pray you to desire my master [Walsingham] that I may have the benefit of that she doth lose by the statute, an if it be but the chain that she doth wear. There is a certain priest named Rand come from beyond the seas, and he

is in one Mr. Randoll's house in Wood Street. Thus I have not to write unto you more when the Court doth come nearer, but to let to understand where the Ambassador was confessed upon his knees, and wearing about a garment like a parliament robe, with a red flower de luce upon his breast, and there was the Pope's pardon too, to absolve us. Thus I desire I may hear of my two letters before this. Fare you well, by me,—DAVY JOHNES. 13th of August, 1574."

In another letter signed, "Davy Johnes, minister," he says to Mills, "If you do so much as to send me to the George the sum of *2s.* until I do speak with you, you may do me a good pleasure, but not by the bearer."

It was to such espionage as this that the Catholics were exposed, and it is not surprising that many left the country. However, we have learnt from this unusually disgraceful specimen of a spy that there were other Tyrrells, good Catholics, besides Anthony's father. The State Papers have one letter from that brave gentleman, who faced exile and poverty in his old age, that he might live "in the fear and true faith and service of God, in the unity of His Catholic Church." The letter,[1] which is addressed to Lord Treasurer Burghley, is worth reading.

"I have hitherto abstained to write unto any man in my country, right honourable and my very singular good lord; and so purposed with myself to continue, fearing thereby to incur in contempt and misliking with my discretion, notwithstanding trusting that wisdom and piety with rare virtues united together I have observed always to abound in your honour, I thought now to give some attempt and render unto your honour most humble thanks for my poor son, who if your honour had not extended your pitiful hand, had drunk of a sour and bitter cup.

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cviii. n. 65.

As your lordship hath dealed mercifully with us, so my continual prayer shall be that you may find mercy with the Omnipotent Majesty in your necessity. What is done to him for my sake I must take it done to myself. Your lordship shall have the poor boy your bond-servant, to pray for your honour all his life, and to do nothing that may offend the same as he will avoid my displeasure, and upon so just occasion I have enterprised to write to your honour, I shall instantly desire the same to bear further with my boldness.

"I am reported, as I hear, to be a traitor to my prince, an enemy to my country, which are very grave enormities and heinous crimes, and require of my part some purgation, as I shall answer before the Divine Majesty when He shall sit in His glorious and terrible throne to judge and reward our doings.

"As I did depart thence, so in like manner I remain here, for no other cause than for quieting and satisfaction of my conscience, and to end this my old age in penance for my former iniquities, in the fear and true faith and service of God in the unity of His Catholic Church; and so to pray for her Grace's Majesty, my country, and among others your good lordship and my Lord of Leicester.

"For what other thing could move me? I freely confess I served a most royal prince, and for her wisdom far excelling my place of service. By so much of more honour the meeter it was unto her Majesty, her favour and bountiful liberality towards me I [ac]knowledge and confess not a little. I found your honour always my good lord, and ready in all times to further any reasonable suit, the which courtesy I may not forget while I live.

"Here I do remain in great misery concerning corporal necessaries, destitute of sufficiency to relieve my necessities, yet the quietness of conscience which causeth a continual gladness of heart, and abundance of spiritual

riches far passingly supplieth the lack of the other. Wherefore I shall most humbly request your honour to continue my good lord, and as occasion and opportunity may serve, to report unto her Grace's Majesty that I remain her humble servant and true subject, the care of my soul and my duty to God only reserved; yea, the very same I was in my old mistress' time, Queen Mary. Assure your honour nothing can be proved against me to the contrary.

"Concerning my journey into Spain, this necessity, that hath no law, forced me thereunto. I was driven on every side to straits for money here, and there was no man that would lend me any. My charge was great for myself, my wife, three children. I foresaw that we should all perish for lack of necessaries. I had no other refuge to remedy my extreme necessity. Wherefore your honour, according to your customary piety, will rather, I doubt not, lament my miserable case so destitute in a strange land, than be offended with that fact; for the Apostle saith, He that taketh not care to provide for his own, especially for his own family, denieth his faith, and is worse than an infidel. Wherefore, right honourable, enter not in judgment and think, as St. Thomas saith, Presuppose and think always thus, Everything is good where the contrary is not proved manifestly and open.

"And so, fearing to trouble your honour, I shall most humbly desire to take this my boldness in writing in good part, considering the occasion. And my prayers are daily unto Almighty God to preserve the Queen's Majesty [and] your lordship with increase of honour and all prosperity.

"From Louvain, the 27th of July [1576].

"Your honour's to command during life,

"GEORGE TYRRELL."

The merciful dealing with Anthony Tyrrell for which his father thanks Lord Burghley in this letter, was probably

his release from prison. This was the first of the many occasions that made Tyrrell acquainted with the interior of an English prison house. He was about twenty-two when captured by Edward Bury and sent to Lord Rich, and the date of his father's letter would lead to the conjecture that he was about a year and a half in prison this first time.

The second time was when he was a priest, and it must have been very shortly after his arrival in England. He went to Rome and entered the English College there, when it first opened in 1579. His name is the fourteenth in the list of the fifty who took the College oath with Ralph Sherwin, on the 23rd of April, 1579, but no other information is given in the College register,[1] except that he was then twenty-seven years of age and was a student of theology. His course of theology, and his preparation for the priesthood must have been dangerously short, for we find him in England a priest within two years of that date. The news of his capture at that time we learn from a letter in the Record Office addressed to Father Agazzari, the Rector of the English College at Rome, by Dr. Allen, which information is fully corroborated by Father Persons' notes.[2] Dr. Allen's intercepted letter[3] said, after speaking of Father Bryant's apprehension, which was on the 28th of April, 1581: "Next day John Nichols, that apostate, met in the street Father Tyrrell, a student of your College, and as soon as he saw him exclaimed, 'Traitor,' and so arrested him; but he is thrown, not into the Tower, but into another prison called the Gatehouse, and there he and Father Rishton, also a student of your College, are living in joy." This, which was Anthony's

[1] "(1) Antonius Tirellus, annorum 27, laicus, Sacræ Theologiæ studens juravit ut supra. (2) Missus est in Angliam. (3) Proditorem egit postea ad tempus, sed postea publice eum pœnituit, idemque declaravit ex suggestu 1588." *In three several hands.* English College, Rome; *Liber rubus.*

[2] Stonyhurst MSS., *P.* fol. 16.

[3] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxlix. n. 51.

second imprisonment, did not last long, for he contrived to break prison and make his escape. A spy, who signed his notes with the initials P. H. W.,[1] wrote under date January 5th, 158$\frac{1}{3}$, "Tyrrell, who broke out of the Gatehouse, arrived the morning next following at Drayton, where he was four days with the old Lady Paget."

Anthony Tyrrell's third imprisonment was in 1586, as we have already seen in Father Weston's narrative. He had a good reputation among the Catholics, and on his apprehension Father Robert Southwell wrote to Father Agazzari in a letter, an abstract[2] of which was sent by some agent to Walsingham, "that Father Tyrrell, a man that hath done much good is taken, and two days before the writing hereof two others; as also Martinus Arraius, who (as he hears) hath procured by money to be pardoned his life, but shall be banished."

Having now brought him to the prison respecting which we have already had Father Weston's account, we may leave him to his confessions. The document as left by Father Persons is given in its integrity, and the only case in which it will be necessary to interrupt it, will be when interesting details may be drawn from original letters still existing.

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxlvii. n. 2; misdated in the Calendar 1581.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. cxcv. n. 119.

THE TRUE AND WONDERFUL STORY OF THE LAMENTABLE FALL OF ANTHONY TYRRELL, PRIEST, FROM THE CATHOLIC FAITH, WRITTEN BY HIS OWN HAND, BEFORE WHICH IS PREFIXED A PREFACE SHOWING THE CAUSES OF PUBLISHING THE SAME UNTO THE WORLD.

THE PREFACE

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER, CONCERNING THE CAUSES OF PUBLISHING THIS CONFESSION OF ANTHONY TYRRELL.

THERE came into my hands some months past a certain roll of papers that had been sent me out of England not long before, and for that they seemed somewhat of a stale date, and I was occupied at that time in divers other businesses, I let them lie by me for the space of two or three months without reading them over; but at last, taking time to peruse the particulars, I found, among other things, a very large narration and confession made by Anthony Tyrrell, priest, which contained six-and-fifty sheets of paper written all with his own hand, in a very small letter, and his name subscribed in divers places, to the same. Which hand and letter of his I well remembered of old, and was so much grieved for his cause in reading the contents as I cannot well express; for I ever loved the man with sincere affection since our first acquaintance, which hath been for fifteen or sixteen years, as well for his own sake and for the gifts of God, which appeared to be in him, as also for his Catholic friends and kindred, who are well known to be both worshipful and very virtuous,

and consequently they cannot but remain extremely afflicted with this so lamentable a fall of him whom they hoped to be their special comfort. But there is no remedy in these accidents and successes, for the words of our Saviour must needs be fulfilled which say that not only out of the self-same family and kindred, but even out of the same house and bed also, one shall be taken and another rejected, one chosen and another cast off for a reprobate, and this separation and opposition between good and bad, respecteth no kindred, affinity, friendship, or acquaintance. The father shall fall from the son, and the son impugn his father. No greater conjunction of kindred can be imagined than was at the beginning between the good and wicked spirits, between Michael the Archangel and Lucifer the dragon, being all created at the self-same instant, by the self-same hands of one Creator, and ordained to the self-same end of everlasting glory, if equally they had persevered in the love and obedience of their said Lord and Master; but one part falling from that, there ensued presently the enmity, hatred, and everlasting war between them which St. John the Evangelist describeth in his Revelations. The like contemplation may be made of the nearness of kindred between Cain and Abel, Jacob and Esau, that were born in one belly, as also of the familiar acquaintance between Judas and St. Peter and the rest of the Apostles, whilst they lived jointly in the service and daily company of one and the same so blessed a Master; but yet afterward when the one would fall and ruin himself wilfully and desperately to the devil, truth it is that the other remained much afflicted, humbled, and terrified thereby, but yet neither discredited nor disanimated in the service of Him whom Judas had forsaken.

St. Matt. xxiv.; St. Luke xvii.

The like happeneth daily among us, and will to the world's end, whilst this conflict and combat endureth, for winning or losing the immortal garland proposed, one

will stand and another will fall, and another will rise and another will faint. *Domino suo stat aut cadit*, saith St. Paul. Every one standeth or falleth to his Lord, who is to judge him, and either to condemn or reward him according to his fight, so as kindred, friendship or acquaintance hath no part in this, further than his carnal friends or kindred should be movers or persuaders to any man's fall, which I know to be far off from the case that we now handle of Anthony Tyrrell, and therefore it shall not need that we speak any more of this point, but to return unto the narration from which we have digressed.

After I had read over and perused the whole story set down by Anthony Tyrrell, of his living in England, his going to Rome, his return, his acquaintance with Ballard, his apprehension, his examinations, confessions, fictions, accusations, slanders, spiery,[1] recantation and the like, and had with some attention weighed not only the things themselves, but also the time wherein they happened, the horrible and bloody effects that ensued thereupon, and the persons that had been actors and authors therein, with the manner of their proceeding and other such circumstances, I had many thoughts and deliberation with myself what it were best to do with the book, either to publish or to suppress it and let it die in oblivion.

And for the latter part, which is to conceal it, or at best not to divulge the same no further than already it is known, there offered themselves divers reasons and considerations, as that it was a most scandalous fact, and very opprobrious to the universal name and function of priesthood, that many good men would be afflicted therewith and disedified, and the enemy would scorn and rejoice for that it seemeth he had his will, and that many in England, and especially abroad in other countries, would come to know and understand of this foul scandal

[1] *Spiery*, the work of a spy.

which otherwise perhaps would never have heard thereof, and therefore, as wounds and sores and loathsome infirmities, they were rather to be covered and shifted aside, than to be displayed to the sight of the world: and these were reasons that seemed of moment on this side.

But on the contrary, there represented themselves first, the perpetual custom of God and His Church to have these events known, and so we see that Almighty God caused the fall of the first Angels to be revealed and published to us in Scripture, which having happened before any memory of man might have been kept secret if God had been so pleased; and the like we may consider of the fall and scandal given by our first parents in Paradise, and of all human flesh almost afterwards, which God would have published and recorded to posterity, together with His severe punishments upon the same; and after them again, the grievous falls of three Kings together, the first that ever He chose by His own mouth, Saul, David, and Solomon, the two everlastingly, as it may be feared, and the third raised up again by His holy grace:—all which falls and scandals His Divine Majesty appointed to be revealed and uttered, without respect of any offence that thereof might be taken, or of disgrace as it were unto His own works that made and elected them.

The like course took our Saviour Christ with His two Apostles that fell, the one to his proof the other to his perdition, the one of frailty the other of malice, both which He would have published by His holy historiographers, the Evangelists; as also the scandalous fall of Nicholas, one of the seven first deacons elected by His Apostles; and the glorious Apostle St. Paul himself discovered divers persons by name in his Epistles that had fallen from Christ in his days and had played the traitors; and the like after him did St. John the Evangelist, St. Polycarp, St. Ignatius, and other of the first Christian Fathers; and St. Cyprian, that holy bishop, doctor, and martyr, who lived some time

after them, again wrote a whole book, *De Lapsis*, of such as had fallen in his time and had denied their faith, whereof he saith some were so impudent and wicked as at the very first word of the persecutor they yielded to do whatever he required at their hands, and some others hearing of the persecution, cowards, prevented the matter and went privily and offered themselves beforehand; and by which other such things recorded by Eusebius in the beginning of the persecutions of Maximinus, Diocletian, and others, it is evident that as our Saviour had many valiant soldiers in those days that fought most faithfully and conquered in His cause, so there were then also as now many weaklings, and divers false and traitors to the same; all which, though it might seem as in our case, it would be very offensive and scandalous to have it uttered to the world, yet those holy Fathers took the contrary course and divulged the same even in the very face of so potent and rigorous enemies, as were the emperors of those days and their wicked ministers. I take the cause to have been for that albeit those foul facts of themselves in respect of those that commit them be very loathsome and abominable and worthy to be suppressed, yet in respect of God's most sweet and holy providence that permitteth them and directeth them ever, though never so evil of themselves, to some good end for the profit of many, beyond the intention of the doers or procurers, they are most profitable and to be conserved in memory; and this may serve for the first and principal reason for publishing of this treatise, if we respect the custom of God's holy providence in like affairs.

But to leave this general consideration and to descend to some particulars, a second reason offered itself for the publishing of their confession in respect of the Catholics themselves of our nation who otherwise might be doubted to receive grief and scandal thereby. And this reason consisteth in two points: first, that all priests and others

that are called to confession of their faith in England at these days may learn by this man's horrible fault to humble themselves, and not to presume overmuch of their own forces, and beholding the particular causes of this man's overthrow, the beginnings, proceedings, and increase of the same, together with the manner of dealing of the adversary, they may the better look into themselves, and hold a preparation fit for such a combat; and this perhaps may be pronounced to be one of the chief and most principal causes that moveth Almighty God both to permit those ruins of some for benefit of others, as also for the same end to have them known and punished.

What Catholic priest is there that will not look more diligently unto himself, and have a more attentive care to conserve the rigour of holy discipline, both towards his body and his soul, when he shall consider the dissolution that crept into this man by little and little, and brought him at length to so dangerous a shipwreck? What Christian is there of discretion, that having to come to appear before such examiners or judges as Tyrrell did, will not arm himself beforehand with a holy purpose of great patience, constancy, and resolution to proceed plainly, simply, and sincerely in matters of his conscience, without opening any one door or chink unto them, whereby the devil may enter, considering the depth of all iniquity whereunto they won this unhappy and miserable man, and were never satisfied, when once he began to yield in any one point to serve their turns?

This then is one commodity that may come to Catholics by divulging this confession. Neither is this of small importance; but yet another is there of no less moment, which is, that hereby, and by these notorious events, all Catholics may easily gather the truth, assurance, and dignity of their cause, and this not only by those examples that I have shown before of all antiquity, wherein is seen that those that fell did commonly fall

from the better cause to the worse—to wit, from God and from His true Church, according to the saying of St. John the Apostle concerning such miserable people, [1] St. John ii. "They went from us and were not of us," but also and much more, if we consider rightly and truly the causes, reasons, and motives of such as fall in these our own days in England, which are evidently seen to be fear, frailty, desire of life, looseness of behaviour, wicked appetites of honour, riches, pleasure, or of human favour: or on the other side, spite, malice, envy, hatred, pride, revenge, contempt of God, lack of devotion; and that contrariwise, other cogitations of rising again and returning unto us, and of their voluntary confessing of their faults is upon the plain contrary motions to these, that is to say, upon scruple of conscience, fear of God's judgments, hope of salvation, terror of eternal condemnation, love of justice, zeal of truth, and for defence of innocency, which in their passion they had slandered; all which particulars when they are duly considered to Catholics, as they may be commonly in all falls of such as have been shaken in these years of our English persecution set down by their own pens and free declarations, I mean such as have fallen, and after have recanted and recalled the same, as this of Anthony Tyrrell, and that of John Nichols, of Laurence Caddy, of Richard Bayne, Edward Osborne,[1] and some others, which are yet extant under their own hands, oaths, and voluntary confessions, and do plainly, sincerely, and resolutely confess and discover in the same the very causes of their falls that I have here rehearsed,—when things I say are considered, they cannot but confirm greatly any reasonable man in the truth and comfort of the Catholic cause which works these effects; and this is the sum of the second reason for publishing Tyrrell's confession to the view of many.

[1] The retractations of Nichols, Caddy, Bayne, and Osborne are given in the *Concertatio*, fol. 231—242.

A third reason there is in respect of the Protestants and enemies themselves, who may be counted in two sorts, the first of such as for conscience and opinion of religion do follow that cause, and these beholding the shameful practices that have been used in this affair of Tyrrell's and that in truth nothing less is sought in these turmoils about religion than religion itself, and nothing less executed than justice in all these late executions of justice against Catholics; when they shall see, I say, and consider attentively what devices, practices, and treacheries have been used for the entrapping and overthrow of so many as in this confession are named, they cannot, being otherwise men of judgment and good nature, but take great compassion of the afflicted state of Catholics in England, although they were not of their own blood and country as these be, to see them used so contrary to all order of common justice, which this land itself observeth unto very thieves, murderers, and malefactors, who are not, nor ought not, guilefully to be drawn into snares as Catholics are, and that this should be the fruits of their new religion in so few years, to pervert the common course of all ordinary justice, which even under the Turk or Sophie[1] is permitted to Christians that live under their dominion, it seemeth that these men cannot but blush thereat, if reason and wisdom have any place at all and this for them;

But for others who do sit at the stern and govern, and their ministers under them, whose profession perhaps is to follow rather policy than justice or religion (though events daily do show that policy without equity and conscience is more damnable indeed than durable), yet even in respect of this their policy they may be warned by this confession of Anthony Tyrrell, as also by that of John Nichols before set forth already in divers languages, that these proceedings of theirs cannot turn

[1] *Sophi*, the Emperor of Persia. *Johnson.*

to their credit in the sight of any discreet man in the world. I mean, to prosecute matters so deeply upon so small grounds, induced by themselves, for as John Nichols confesseth that he was persuaded by Sir Owen Hopton and others to cast out those slanders of invasions and killing the Queen, for which afterwards Father Campion, Mr. Sherwin, and so many other learned, grave, worshipful, and holy men were made away, so here you shall see Anthony Tyrrell to confess the like that upon his own malice, and Justice Young's and others' allurements, he devised all these odious accusations of intention to invade and kill the Queen against both the Queen of Scots, Ballard, Babington, and the rest that were put to death about these broils—which is a pitiful and lamentable matter, and never heard of I dare say in our Commonwealth before in such number and quality of persons since the first habitation thereof by the Britons. And that a new Gospel should breed such stirs in so few days is a matter worthy consideration, as also it is that God should provide that the actors and first authors commonly of these bloody tragedies, like new Judases, should come and cry mercy of the persons betrayed when their blood was already sold, as John Nichols did, first to Mr. Kirby in his chamber in the Tower after his condemnation, and afterwards openly, and the same you shall see Anthony Tyrrell do here in this confession of the souls of many a one already executed upon his false impeachments,—and thus much of this third reason in respect of the Protestants.

There remain yet other three reasons and considerations that moved me also to the publishing of this confession, whereof the first was in respect of foreign countries, which having heard much of the present conflict and persecution of England and martyrdoms of such as have stood, reason it is that they understand also of the frailty of such as do fall, to the end they may perceive that

we deal plainly and sincerely in this cause, confessing as well our wounds, hurts, and losses as our victories, as all true and grave historiographers do in describing of any war, whereby it shall appear also that our proceeding is not different from that of the primitive Church, as our case is the same.

The other consideration, which is the fifth, is in respect of posterity, to the end they may truly know what passed with us in these our days of new reformation. And the last is in respect of them and their posterity that have been touched or made away upon these false inventions made by Tyrrell, to the end that albeit that for the present there be no remedy, yet that their memory hereafter may be relieved so far forth as it may deserve from the opprobrious crimes of treasons and conspiracies, by the confession and clearing of him that first of all as it seemeth did falsely charge them with the same.

All these reasons therefore remaining together for the setting forth of this confession of Tyrrell's, they did easily answer and overcome the other reasons alleged before, in the beginning of the preface, to the contrary; and so I resolved to do it, though somewhat abridged, by leaving out some narrations that seemed over long and not so important as the rest, yet have I noted the sum thereof even when I pass over the words themselves, so as this that is here set down is the chief and most effectual part thereof, which I doubt not (gentle reader) will seem very strange unto thee, and cause in thee marvel and divers other cogitations and effects in reading it over.

CHAPTER I.

HIS ACCUSING OF HIMSELF, SET DOWN IN THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

ANTHONY TYRRELL before he cometh to the particular declaration of his sinful enormities, he maketh a vehement accusation of himself and his wicked doings in a preface to the Christian reader, which is as followeth word for word.

"When as a man through sin hath once lost the grace of Almighty God and wilfully yielded himself unto the wicked suggestions and temptations of the enemy, it is a thing almost incredible (but yet, God wot, we see it by daily experience), how suddenly a man descendeth down by no small degrees from sin to sin, until at the last he falleth down into the very gulf and depth of all sin, and when a sinner is once thrown down into the profundity and bottom of sin, what other thing doth he but contemn, according as it is written: *Peccator cum in profundum venerit contemnit*, &c.? I will for this matter go seek no further example than from my own self the most miserable wretch and caitiff, of all others unworthy that I live, worthy of a thousand deaths if it were possible in this life, and after, most worthy of eternal damnation in the world to come.

A pitiful example of myself.

"To set down the number of God's graces and benefits bestowed upon me, by the memory whereof the enormities of my heinous and grievous offences would appear the more monstrous and detestable it were too long a thing, and I should not (I fear me) find leisure and time sufficient

to discover another matter, far more important, which is this, that concerneth my contempt of the majesty of Almighty God, the dishonour of His Catholic Church, the horrible slanders of His Supreme Pastor or Vicegerent under Christ upon earth, the innocence of His most holy and virtuous priests falsely by me accused, Judasly by me betrayed, besides the most vile, false, and slanderous accusations, not only against great princes, but a number also of most honourable, worshipful, and worthy persons: whereof some have been by my most wicked and sinful means most innocently condemned, and most lamentably cast away in this life (although their happiness no doubt through the great mercy and providence of Almighty God be now exceeding great in the kingdom of heaven), unto the great grief and discomfort of all good and godly men, not only in this realm of England, but throughout all other nations of Christendom, unto whom the fame thereof hath or shall spread; and many also that be yet living, who have been or may be called in question and grievously endangered through my most vile and slanderous accusations, and not unlikely (as many others before them) most unjustly to be made away and executed, with lamentable and pitiful case of their parts (although on my part the author and original of these horrible tragedies most damnable and execrable and worthy of all temporal and eternal punishment). God of His infinite mercy and goodness who is the only true Defender and Purger of the innocent, the only Punisher and heavy Paymaster of the nocent, would not that the guiltless blood of His dear and loving servants so unjustly spilt, should be kept secret, but made manifest unto the world who hath held them to be most heinous traitors, grievous and abominable conspirators, whereas in truth and verily they are found before God, and to be proved also unto the world to have been far otherwise. And surely were it not for this only

God's mercy and providence in discovering my wickedness.

cause, I see no other reason on my part, how any way I might have deserved the least drop or sparkle of God's grace to repentance, but rather might have looked every moment when the ground should have opened to have swallowed me up quick into hell, or else some other strange and wonderful or horrible event, to the terror of all such apostates and traitors as myself unto God and His Church, suddenly to have happened unto me. But lo! the prayers of that holy and blessed martyr, St. Stephen, how much they prevailed before the mercy of Almighty God it is manifest in the Acts of the Apostles, whereby Saul being a great and famous persecutor of the flock of Jesus Christ became notwithstanding repentant, and an elect Apostle of Jesus Christ; and although his persecution was but of ignorance, and mine of malice, who knoweth yet whether the prayers of those three most glorious and worthy martyrs, Mr. Dibdale, Mr. Loe, and Mr. Adams,[1] whose innocent blood I think verily to have been shed through my most wicked and malicious means, with the blood I fear me of many other persons; who knoweth I say whether they have procured this favour of the Omnipotent Majesty of God to bring me unto the confession of my fault, and to cry with David in the bitterness of heart, *Peccavi!* and not with Judas miserable to go and hang myself?

The blood of martyrs by me shed hath made intercession for me.

"To their prayers I do impute this grace obtained at God's hands, and in no wise unto my own deserving, for I felt myself so clearly gone from God and fallen so far into His contempt, that my soul abhorred all goodness, myself I suffered to be drowned in all impiety, and wilfully or rather monstrously bended myself against God and His Catholic Church, accounting myself the most desperate of all others, and so most wickedly had determined to have ended my days.

"If, therefore, I have any repentance, if I be brought

[1] *Supra*, p. 180.

unto the true acknowledging and confession of my crimes, if I crave effectually all shame and confusion in this world, so as my soul may find mercy in the world to come, if yet I desist from sin and turn unto God with all my heart, in fasting, weeping, and mourning, if all the days of my life I bewail my fault, my most grievous fault, and crave mercy of Almighty God, who is rich in mercy, who forgiveth more than human malice can offend, who only by His Almighty power and grace can pluck me out of the jaws of Satan, unloose his fetters wherewith he hath me so long, so sore and surely fastened, unto Him I say and His eternal mercy be all honour and glory for the same, and to His aforesaid blessed martyrs and saints, that have by their especial prayers procured me this grace, be praise and thanks for ever."

Thus far are his own words, wherein he layeth down (as you see) his own sinful proceedings and grief for the same, and then turning himself to the Queen and Council he asketh them pardon for abusing them with lies, and then to the Catholics afflicted by his falsehoods, to whom he saith as followeth. "The enormities of my offences by myself truly laid open, your innocencies showed, your false and slanderous accusations purged by me your former malicious accuser, and now your humble, repentant, and sorrowful suppliant, I know not possibly how I may make you any better satisfaction than this, unless it be by giving my neck unto the halter, my quarters to be divided, in a perpetual memory for the injuries done you and wrongs that by me you have sustained, and I would to God my future punishments may unloose so many as by my means are unjustly detained, and that all other griefs, calamities, smarts, anguishes both of body and mind were cast upon me altogether, so as you might be freed, delivered, and be thought of by our prince and country no otherwise than you deserve. But alas! since I have with great falsehood

A petition to the Catholics.

and facility brought you into the briars, and by no sorrow, complaint, punishment, or penance of mine own I can help you out again, to the mercy of Almighty God I must commend you, with whose infinite goodness, if the tears of a wretched sinner daily shed for you may any prevail, or repentance for my fault, by confessing my crime and doing penance, *in sacco et cinere*, for the same all the days of my life, may procure the eyes of His holy pity to be inclined towards you, by the help of His heavenly grace I will not let to do it." Thus far Tyrrell. And finally, to omit other long lamentations of his which are here in this preface set down, he endeth the same in these words. "Read the sequel of this story with patience, lament my present estate and afflictions, pray for my amendment, pardon my trespass, and refuse not to help me to be received again into the grace and favour of Almighty God by repentance, for which I am ready to sustain all worldly shame and punishment, and with this I cease to trouble you further, and will enter into the narration of the story itself, how it happened." Hitherto are his words, and there followeth his subscription thereunto, which is thus:

"Unworthy abject of all others,
"ANTHONY TYRRELL."

And after his subscription he giveth this title to the beginning of his narration—

"The lamentable confession of Anthony Tyrrell, priest, unworthy of that holy name and sacred profession, as by the most pitiful discourse following shall plainly appear, wherein to the honour of Almighty God, whose majesty I have most grievously offended, to my own temporal shame and confusion, worthily of all the world to be contemned, and to the help of all other sinful and wretched sinners, that by true repentance their lives may be amended, I have set down

The true title of this confession.

with as much sorrow of heart as it pleased Almighty God to yield me, although nothing comparable to the quality of my crime, such offences as I have committed and are necessary of the world to be known, beseeching God of His infinite mercy to pardon me, and all good and charitable people with compassion to pity me and pray for me, that my deserved confusion here on earth may, through the sweet merits of our Saviour's Passion, procure the last spark of His grace to deliver my soul from everlasting torments, which worthily I have deserved."

CHAPTER II.

OF HIS APPREHENSION AND BEHAVIOUR IN PRISON, BEFORE HIS FALL, WITH HIS EXAMINATIONS AND ANSWERS TO THE SAME.

IN the sixth page of his confession he beginneth to set down largely and very particularly his manner of apprehension, examinations, answers, and whole demeanour until his fall, which I shall repeat in his own words most truly and faithfully as all the rest, without altering anything, as near as I can, as also I shall add his own marginal notes. Thus, then, he beginneth.

"In the year of our Lord God, 1586, I, Anthony Tyrrell, priest, by the permission of Almighty God was

My apprehension.

apprehended and taken prisoner in my chamber at Lambert Hill, the 4th day of July, by two pursuivants, Newall and Worsley, and by them carried unto the Counter in Wood Street, and there was committed close prisoner. From thence the same day in the afternoon, by the foresaid pursuivants, I was carried unto the Court, her Majesty lying then at Greenwich, my arms

My carrying to the Court.

being fast pinioned, as if I had been a thief or traitor (for so commonly now-a-

days are all priests accounted until they forsake God), where being arrived I was then carried unto the Council chamber and there to be presented before Mr. Secretary Walsingham, who being then for other affairs of the Queen at London, I was for the time entertained by Mr. Bell,

My conference with Bell.

one of the clerks of the Council, who took upon him to dispute with me in matters of divinity, whose arguments and speeches as they were most foolish and ridiculous, so as they are not worthy the setting down, but to be passed over with silence, only this I say in respect of the comfort that I felt in myself of the benefit of God His grace, who saith, 'When you shall stand before kings and princes do you not fear nor forethink what you may say or speak, for it shall be given you in the same hour what you shall speak'; and so I was nothing at that time (I thank God) appalled or afraid at the threatenings or opprobrious speeches of the enemy, but rather found in myself courage sufficient to contradict their blasphemies, to contemn their taunts, and thought myself much honoured to be scorned at their hands for Christ His sake:—and I would to God I had never swerved from that mind, for then those heavy desolations could never have chanced unto me that after ensued.

"To be short, nothing they gained at my hands by that arrival, but only shame and discredit, as by their objecting unto me their exorcisms, or dispossessing of devils from three poor maids and two men, the which Bell and the rest in scornful manner termed conjurations, witchcrafts, sorceries, and illusions to deceive the world,

My speech of the exorcisms.

with all of which matters, forasmuch as they themselves had entered into particular mention thereof, I that had been an eye-witness of most of those wonderful things, being moved with the zeal of God's honour, could not choose as then but say something. 'Wherefore replying my speech upon Mr. Bell's most malicious and false inveighings, I think I said thus,

or to like effect. 'Mr. Bell, you do not well to breathe out blasphemies against the power and handywork of Almighty God, or to seek to suppress by falsehood a most known truth. These things that you speak of are no conjurations, witchcrafts, sorceries, or illusions, as you term them, but the wonderful work of God, shown sometimes extraordinarily, and mainly in these our days, for the subversion of heresy and confirmation of the Catholic cause. It is not your malicious and uncertain speech that can convince a known and certain truth, and therefore I pray you give me leave with patience to tell you no more than I myself did see with mine own eyes, and many more that were present can witness against you.'

"I did see upon commandment of the exorcist the devil to cast up out of the bowels of a man a hooked pin, a piece of lead, and a shirt string, all being fastened together, not without great and grievous pain of the possessed party, and this was done *maugre* the malice of the devil, that did seek still by all means possible to retain them in the body of the party for his destruction, but by the invincible power of Almighty God giving authority unto His Catholic priests to command as I said the wicked spirit to deliver it, within my presence, and in the presence of divers others, I did see accomplished.

Wonderful things done at the exorcisms.

"And not only this, but the next day following, one of the maidens (there being three in all possessed in one house, besides the man), whose name was Friswolde Owen, dwelling in the parish of Denham, and in the county of Buckingham, and in the house of Sir George Peckham, Knight, being exorcised the devil appeared most sensible in her body, and talked by the maiden's tongue, confessing that he had brought into her body two needles and other filthy stuff for the destruction of the party; but God, which suffereth none of His creatures to perish that putteth their trust in Him, was not wanting unto His poor maiden, as hereafter shall appear, for the devil being commanded

to render up all such sorceries and witchcrafts as he had brought unto the maiden's body, refused a great while (as always his custom is to be loth to surcease from hurting), but at the last it pleased Almighty God to make him yield unto the authority of His Church, to the which the devil cannot but obey. The wench being cast into a slumber, and the exorcist being departed out of the chamber for giving the maid repose, the maiden suddenly awaked crying out that a thing came running up her side and pricked her. I being then present there myself came presently to assist her and besought Almighty God to help her; and so calling upon the name of Jesus Christ, forthwith the devil came up into her tongue, blaspheming the holy name of Jesus, and called for the priest by name that had immediately before exorcised her, but he being at that time not present I asked the devil myself what he would with the exorcist, whose name was Dibdale, and now no doubt a blessed martyr in heaven triumphing over them that then so much tormented and vexed him, threatening him full oft that they would bring him to the gallows, the which in the end they performed, unto their own shame and confusion. The devil answered, 'A plague on him, let him come and take his needle that he commanded me to give him, and I would it were in him.' 'Why,' quoth I, 'where is the needle?' 'Dost not thou see it?' quoth the devil. With that I did behold, and lo! contrary to nature or reason, that the handiwork of God might appear plain to the sight of the world for the manifestation thereof unto others, the needle came peering out on the side of her left cheek, and being half out and half in I took it between my fingers and my thumb, the point of the needle being outward, and verily before God I protest I could not by any force pluck it out of the maiden's cheek, and the devil perceiving me to use some violence egged me on, saying, 'Why dost thou not pluck it out? I would have thee to tear the

wench's cheek.' 'No,' quoth I, 'I command thee to let it come forth without the maiden's hurt.' And so it pleased God that it came to pass, for the needle then came forth with great ease and without all pain to the party.

"At this and the fore-mentioned action I was present myself and did see them, and out of the same maiden afterwards was fetched forth by the like means a great blunt nail all rusty, and out of another maiden named Ann Smith a piece of a rusty knife, of which things I make mention here in this place, not that I had opportunity given me at the Court in the presence of Bell and the rest thus largely to express all these things, but only to set down here the truth, for the world to judge whether these things could be illusions, as it pleased Bell to term them, and as at the arraignment of good Mr. Dibdale it liked Justice Young to account them, and exaggerate against him for effusion of his blood. But to proceed.

Other things extorted from the devil by exorcisms.

"All these things that I here have mentioned, both that which was fetched out of the man and the two maidens possessed, were in my trunk at what time I was taken, and being found there by the pursuivants were brought with me to the Court; which putteth me now in remembrance of another thing, the which I think requisite to make mention of in this place, although at that time I did not utter it, yet of truth as I shall answer before God thus it was.

"After the devil had been forced by the Omnipotent power of God, in the virtue of the holy exorcism, to yield out of the possessed creatures the fore-mentioned things, and that I had gotten them all into my keeping, the devil maligning thereof asked me what I intended to do with them, whether that I would show those wares of his (as he termed them), and sell them. 'Look to it,' quoth he, and swearing a great oath he said he would have them again, do what I could. Wherewith I thinking that he

would steal them from me, as things enchanted, I blessed them with a prayer of the Church and cast holy water upon them, not knowing the devil's mystery; but after I perceived it, for within a short time after I was apprehended, and then Newall and Worsley got them, and then

The devil as good as his word.

I perceived how the devil was as good as his word, for that he had gotten them again by his ministers, and so he said truly that he would have them, for from the devil they came and to him by his two devilish pursuivants they were brought and so given to Justice Young his treasurer, who for his sake keepeth them.

"All these things being found, taken, and brought with me to the Court by the pursuivants, as hath been said, together with a little book written by myself as touching all these strange and wonderful events, and the book being delivered into the hands of Bell, he challenged me for writing and publishing such notorious lies, saying they were all counterfeit things and illusions, whereupon I answered that they were wonders most true and such apparent miracles as were able to convert the most obstinate heretic in the world; and withal I recited what things had been brought out by the power of God from these possessed creatures, willing the pursuivants that had them to show them unto the company that were many, but for shame they would not. And, furthermore, I requested Bell, for that he seemed so incredulous, that he would inform the Council and procure that Catholic priests might make public exorcisms, in the face and

The ministers challenged to exorcisms.

view of the world, and their ministers might be also present, to the end it might be seen which of them had the most power to make the devil obey, for the trial of the cause. This was the holy courage that it pleased God to give me then, and I would to God I had been so gracious as to have conserved it still, but forsaking His divine grace

I was also by Him right worthily forsaken. But to proceed.

"After I had been kept in the Council chamber the space of an hour and more, I was carried unto the Lord Treasurer's chamber, but Justice Young being there present sent me away back again unto London without speaking to the Treasurer at all. So came I to my former prison of the Counter again, where I remained until the next day, and then I was carried unto Justice Young, before whom I was examined, and first of all he tendered me an oath, but I directly refused to be sworn unto anything, unless I might have knowledge of the matter that I should be sworn unto first."

His first examination before Justice Young.

Hitherto are Tyrrell's own words, which here I break off; for the large narration following, of examinations with Justice Young, and then of his letter written to the Treasurer, and his order from him to be examined by Topcliffe, as he was in the Lord Rich his house in St. Bartholomew's, is not needful to be set down here at length. The sum of all is that both Young's and Topcliffe's speeches, which he setteth down with his own answers thereunto, tended to no other end, but partly by sweet prayers and promises and partly vigorous threats, to induce him unto that which at the last he fell unto, albeit not now, which was to utter some matter prejudicial to others as touching the State, which when neither of them could procure they caused him to write again to the Treasurer, to see what advantage might be picked out thereof, but finding none of importance they denounced to him his arraignment, of which at that time he was very glad, and writeth as followeth.

His first examination by Young and Topcliffe.

"After the sending of the two letters to my Lord Treasurer I heard no news of anything but that I and Mr. Dryland were against the next day's assizes allotted out unto the gallows. And God be honoured for His goodness, my cause being then

News brought me of my arraignment.

directly for religion, it is incredible the comfort that I found therein, thinking myself far unworthy for so great a benefit and favour at God's hands, respecting my sinful loose life which I had led before, not following the fear of God in my profession, but rather vanities, having led a licentious and riotous life, that had deserved a greater punishment than so happily to be called away by martyrdom, so that then the memory of death was comfortable unto me, and I had no other thoughts in that my imprisonment but to prepare for death, and I would God ten thousand times that I had so happily gone.

"But alas! my wretchedness did not deserve it. I was spared for a further ruin. I was left to live, as since I have thought, to be a vessel of perdition, wherein Almighty God (to the example of all others that have no better care in their priestly vocation to lead a sincere and pure life) might pour out the fulness of His indignation, which He seemeth to have done, for otherwise I could never so deeply have fallen as I have done; which now I shall endeavour to set down with all the truth, sincerity, humility, and grief of mind that Almighty God shall yield me grace to do."

CHAPTER III.

OF THE BEGINNING AND SECRET OCCASION OF HIS FALL AND YIELDING.

THE first and principal occasion of his overthrow he attributed to the delay of his arraignment, though the inward cause thereof he confesseth to have proceeded of his negligence in governing his life as he was accustomed in virtue. His words be these:

"But now let me proceed to confess my fault. God grant me grace hereafter to have a fit time to make some amends. News was brought me one night that the next day I was to repair to the Sessions House, which news nothing at all dismayed me, but gladly and joyfully I performed those actions that became me against such a banquet; and the next morning I expected every hour when I should be called forth. But in fine, the case altered; I was not so. Then whereas before I assured myself of a most happy death, I began to hope again after an unhappy life, and so I lingered a few weeks after a close prisoner, and through the procurement of my friends I got the liberty of the house, which cost me 10*l.* And if it had pleased God, I would I had never obtained it, unless I could have used it better, for then I verily think I never had been in such an estate as now I am in.

My arraignment deferred, and the liberty of the prison granted.

"For after that I had gained the liberty of the house, so withal my mind and affections grew more large and loose. I served God less; I delighted in profane pastimes and exercises. I pampered more my belly, and

cocked myself a great deal more than I was wont. The devil also espying his advantage, brought back again into my mind the memory of my former pleasures and delights, wishing sometimes with myself that I might enjoy such corruptible follies again.

"Thus by little and little sensuality creeping into me, and less armed with the defence of God's grace than I was for the resisting of sin, I upon the sudden was sent for to Justice Young, and although I determined all the way I went not to speak anything that should be either offensive to God or to my conscience, yet by reason of my indisposition and former carelessness for such events, when it came to the point I somewhat faltered.

My second examination before Justice Young.

"Mr. Young, calling me up into an upper parlour, where was none but he and I and his man Harris, he began very smoothly to frame his speech in this manner, as near as I can guess. 'Mr. Tyrrell, I have been with her Majesty, with whom I have had some speech of you, she calling your father to remembrance, whom she loved well, would of her exceeding clemency extend some favour upon you, if so be there be any grace in you as yet left to deserve it. Her will and pleasure therefore is, that you deal plainly with her, and discover all such noblemen and ladies within her realm with whom you are acquainted, that have given you entertainment, or that you know to have been reconciled either by yourself or by any other. In so doing, I can assure you of her Majesty's favour and mercy. Otherwise, you must look for all extremities.'

My answer to Justice Young.

"His speech thus ended, 'I am,' quoth I, 'most humbly to thank her Majesty for her gracious clemency, but surely as I shall answer before God, there is no nobleman within this land that ever I conferred withal, my Lord Darcy of the North excepted, to whose house I came as a guest with other friends of my lord's acquaintance, and departed

from thence again, not known unto my lord what manner of person I was, and more than with him I talked not since my coming into England.'

"With this fell Mr. Young into very hot language, saying that I lied loudly, and that he would deal with me another way—that is, swear me on a book to answer truly. For oaths I told him I had taken none, nor would not take any, and therefore I desired him to pardon me. He never rested urging me on my allegiance, or otherwise he would inform her Majesty of my stoutness, and how little I deserved the favour I refused, and to take the oath. Then I began to fear lest he should grow into some cruelty against me, and inform worse of me than I wished he should, and my mind being more set upon liberty again than it was, and I now less constant in God's cause than I should, did fondly yield unto an oath, so far forth that he would not ask me any question that might prejudice my conscience. And so he brought me a book of common prayer (as they term it), at the which, although my conscience pricked me to take any oath upon such an unlawful book, yet for fear of increasing his displeasure, I yielded, laying one of my fingers upon it—God knoweth with a full evil will at that time—at which he took exceptions because I laid not my whole hand. But his man Harris answered the matter, saying there could be no dissimulation before God, for as good was a finger as a fist. And in that he said truly, for as soon may we go to the devil for an inch as for an ell. God forgive me for it.

My frailty in taking an oath.

"After that I had taken this ungodly oath upon an ungodly book, and kissed that with my lips which I detested with my heart, he began to examine me after this manner: First of all he inquired what talk Edmonds the Jesuit, Cornelius the priest, and I had as touching the Earl of Arundel, by the

He meant by Edmonds F. William Weston.

oath that I had taken. I answered, by the virtue of the same oath (if there were any virtue in it as other could be but little), that I never to remembrance talked with them of the Earl of Arundel in my life, as I protest before God and the salvation of my soul to my knowledge I did not. Note that which followeth hereafter. 'No,' quoth he, 'will you deny that; did not you and Edmonds no time talk of the Earl of Arundel? Beware what you say,' quoth he, 'and remember that you are sworn.' I beginning then to seem somewhat religious of an irreligious oath, did somewhat study with myself, saying at the last in good faith, 'I do not remember that ever I talked with Father Edmonds of the Earl of Arundel, more than once riding by the way, I asked Father Edmonds a question, what he thought would become of the Earl now after he had made his appearance in the Star Chamber, and had been put to his fine, whether he should now remain in the Tower or no? And that Father Edmonds should answer, if so be he would but yield to confer with my Lord of Canterbury, that he should be released from the Tower. And I asked again whether he might not so do? And Father Edmonds should answer that he might not, for it was both dangerous and scandalous.' 'Oh!' quoth Justice Young, 'then the Earl sent some messenger unto Edmonds to know his opinion?' 'No,' quoth I, 'I do not say so, for then I should say falsely by the oath that I have sworn.' Fain Mr. Young would have inferred in so much by my words, but as the truth was, I did still swear unto the contrary, and when he could get no more, he did write the rest with his own hand, and because it concerned a nobleman, I besought him to set down the matter as I had spoken it. And so he did, as I did read myself. And no more passed from me as touching my lord at that time.

Mr. Young his good affection towards the Earl of Arundel.

"Then did he hunt about after the names of such

persons in whose houses I had frequented sithence my coming into England. I answered it that was no parcel of my oath to accuse or appeach any, for that should offend God, and it was directly against my conscience. He did swear by God I must tell, for that her Majesty would know where and how I had lived.

"Upon that, to yield him some satisfaction, and so to quit myself from him, I began to tell him how that at my first coming over, before the statute made that it should be felony for every person wittingly to harbour a priest, I conversed one while in Essex with a kinswoman of mine, called Mrs. Paschall, the which to speak truly, was an untruth. And after, I travelled into the north, and kept with the widow Babthorpe, who after married into Suffolk unto one Mr. Suliard. I lay there so long until by the statute it grew dangerous unto them to give me entertainment. And so ever after I conversed up and down, conversing amongst strangers until the time of my apprehension. Then was he at me for my coming into England, who came with me, &c. I told him the time, the port, and that none came in with me but one Mr. Ballard and Mr. Bray, the one then a prisoner, namely Bray, the other was I know not where. We came together to London, and parted at the Bell in Smithfield. And this was the effect of my examination at that time, and of my confession, I being heartily sorry, both for my folly for taking of an unlawful oath, and of my more folly in confessing anything which might seem offensive and slanderous unto any. And to conclude this matter with a thing that was more than all the rest, at my departure from Justice Young Harris his man asked me if I would be content to confer, and I answered, that I would not refuse it. And all was to procure so much favour for my wretched carcase as I might, not remembering the hurt I received thereby in my poor soul.

When a man hath yielded to the devil a little, how he is drawn in further.

Another degree unto the devil.

"Thus did I depart at that time from Justice Young to the prison from whence I came. After a while was Mr. Ballard apprehended and taken, which news when I did hear did sore appall me, not (I take God to witness) that I ever had in heart consented to any crime, or that I knew anything certain that did import, whereof I might be accounted faulty for keeping of his counsel, saving only that former speech that he talked of, of an invasion like to be, the which I took to be both vain and foolish, and therefore far from my thought to believe it. Yet because I knew he had been but lately in France, and was now lately returned back again, contrary to the expectation of all his friends, and knowing that he had a mind that somewhat savoured of ambition, and that he was too forward in matters above his compass, I feared that he being charged with some great crime or other, and that I being known to have so much conversed with him, as in going over the seas together, in travelling into Italy as far as Rome together, in coming over back again together, in lodging for a long season in one chamber together, in riding of many journeys together, and now, since his last coming over, having met oftentimes together, I feared, I say, that if perhaps he were to be charged with any heinous matter, I should be made partaker of his punishment, though I deserved it not.

Mr. Ballard apprehended, and my fears increased.

"From thence began the cause of all my ruin, although I am not to blame him or any other but my own self and my own wilful malice, as by God His grace, to my own confusion, I mind hereafter truly to set down.

"And because that upon this man, Mr. Ballard, depend great things, as he being accounted a monstrous and capital traitor, a seeker of the destruction of her Majesty and the ruin of the realm, and one that was the chief and principal cause of the decay and spoil of so many proper gentle-

The cause of the death of Mr. Ballard and those who suffered with him.

men, as hath not been seen cast away together in our age, I thought good before I go any further truly to set down as near as I can the beginning of our first acquaintance, with the continuance thereof, the places of our meeting, and winning together unto friendship, the causes of our going over beyond the seas, our whole continuance, progress, and return, our actions in England, until the time of his departure into France, and after his coming back again, our meetings, and the causes thereof, with the full substance of all the matters that ever I knew concerning these supposed heinous enterprises of his, or of every of them that conversed or suffered with him for the same. Whereby it shall appear manifested unto the world what I knew truly by that man, and what I have falsely reported of him, to his utter overthrow and ruin, and not only of him, but of divers other gentlemen which were accounted actors with him, whereof some be dead, and divers be yet living: wherein I protest, as I hope through the infinite mercy of God to be saved at the dreadful Day of Judgment, not to say anything but the truth: wherein I go not about to excuse any traitorous person from the guilt of treason, but to clear the innocent, to tell whom I have hurted and harmed, whom I have falsely accused, what lies I have invented, what detestable actions I have committed, how grievously in my conscience I have offended in seeking the overthrow of God's Church, the perturbation of Christendom, the ruin of all Catholics, and therefore worthy to be pulled in pieces with hot irons, and to die ten thousand deaths, if it were possible. How far those persons or any of them offended God or the Prince I know not, but sure I am that I have most grievously offended them in charging them with such matters, which I protest upon my soul were as false as God is true." Thus far Tyrrell's words of these affairs.

CHAPTER IV.

OF HIS ACQUAINTANCE AND PROCEEDING WITH MR. BALLARD THE PRIEST, AND HOW AFTER BALLARD'S APPREHENSION THE DEVIL TEMPTED HIM TO FALL.

HE maketh a very long narration of his acquaintance and proceeding with Mr. Ballard, for three or four sheets of paper together, the principal points whereof are these truly taken out of his own words. First—That his acquaintance and first friendship with Mr. Ballard was in the Gatehouse of Westminster, while himself (I mean Mr. Tyrrell) was there prisoner, which afterwards was confirmed in Norfolk, where Ballard went by the name of Turner.

Secondly—About three years after, meeting at London, they concluded to go together into France and thence to Rome to see their friends, and so they did, and returning to England were chamber-fellows in London until Lent, in the year 1586, in all which time he professeth never to have seen any evil in the man, nor the least intention against the Queen or Estate, nor other evil, but that he was naturally lofty of condition, seeming ambitious in putting himself into great company and loth to be contradicted, very liberal in spending and sumptuous in apparel, wherein this man saith also that he followed him over much, and was a great occasion of his loss of spirit and fall.

Ballard's conditions and qualities.

Thirdly—That in the year 1586, being both of them weary of this following the company of young gentlemen in England, without attending to their function, they treated together to go over into France to study, and to retire themselves to a more strait life; but that Tyrrell for lack of

maintenance stayed in England and Ballard went over, but within three months after he returned again under the name of Fortescue, and being misliked and much marvelled at by his friends for the same, he told Tyrrell in his chamber in Lambert Street, in the month of June, that it should be good for him to get him out of England, for that there would be great stirs in England before Michaelmas next ensuing of that year 1586, for that the Pope had made the Kings of Spain and France friends, and all three had agreed to make an invasion upon England out of hand.

Ballard's news out of France.

Fourthly—Being asked of Tyrrell how he knew this and what ground he had thereof, he answered that such an Englishman in France (whom Tyrrell saith that for some causes he will not name now) had assured him of it, and had willed him to return into England to advertise the same, which Tyrrell saith he believed not, partly for that in itself it was improbable, and chiefly for that the man he named was not much to be credited in like matters, and lastly, for that he suspected that Ballard made this tale for colour of his vain and inconstant proceedings in returning again so quickly out of France; yet for that the other told him that he was to go to the French Ambassador and to receive letters of the same from his said friends in Paris that sent him into England, who had also (as he said) sent his picture to the said Ambassador the better thereby to know him, he was content to go with Ballard thither, as he desired him to be his interpreter in the French tongue; but yet, as he saith, he went with intention to discover the whole matter to the Council if it should fall out to be anything of importance against the State.

Fifthly—He saith that going with him to the Ambassador he found all as he suspected, that is, to be a very tale and fancy, made of Ballard for the most part for his own credit, for neither

Dealing with the French Ambassador.

the Ambassador knew him or had his picture or any relation of him, or letter or matter for him, but only his secretary had two little letters of the party in France, which had been by him a good while, and were only for a simple plain priest in England, whom Tyrrell saith he well knew to be far off from all matters of estate, so as those letters could not import anything more than some exhibition sent from the party to the said priest, wherefore Tyrrell saith that in his heart he condemned much the vanity of Ballard in this action.

Sixthly—He saith that Ballard and he being together in one lodging, and Mr. Edward Windsor, brother to the Baron, by chance, not knowing of them, took a lodging also in the same house, and to him resorted Mr. Edward Tilney, Mr. Henry Dunn, and other gentlemen afterwards executed, with all whom Ballard came acquainted by this occasion, and moreover he continued his acquaintance begun with the French Ambassador's secretary, who one evening by mere chance passing that way entered into their lodging to see Ballard when the English gentlemen were all together, whom Ballard desired to entertain the said secretary and cause him to drink a cup of wine, without any more talk of matters of estate in the world, but only to ask his master the King of France how he proceeded against his heretics in France, which talk endured not half an hour, and so the secretary departed. Tyrrell's own words of this meeting are these that follow. "He stayed with us I think for the space of one half hour, or somewhat more, all which time (as I shall answer before God) I heard no manner of speech uttered by any man, more than that we inquired of him the estate of France, and how the King did prosecute the Huguenots, and what hope there was of their overthrow; not one word was there (I take God to witness) of the Queen's Majesty or estate, or any other nobleman: and so after he had drank a cup of wine the secretary

The French secretary's coming to Ballard's chamber.

departed and I did never see him since, or any other of my acquaintance to my knowledge. This meeting and conference I have set down as perfectly as I could, together with the cause thereof, for that out of this I have forged most false and monstrous matter, as that that should have been a meeting of set purpose for the contriving of some notable treason, as the destroying of her Majesty's person, the consultation how and in what manner it might be done, with the invasion of the realm, &c. If therefore there were any more harm or hurt intended than that which I have already set down, or anything by any person more spoken of than I have already mentioned, I pray God I may never enjoy the kingdom of heaven."

The ground whereupon I coined all my lies.

Thus much saith Tyrrell of that point, and afterwards showeth how, not believing the report of Ballard to be true, he never uttered the same to any man but to one Mr. Barnwell, who neither would believe it nor was willing to hear it, though after he was put to death for it. And the reasons why Tyrrell discovered not this to the Council at that time were three, as he saith, which you shall hear in his own words that ensue.

"Those things," quoth he, "I did at that time conceal, for these three causes that do follow. First: Because I believed them not, for I thought it a thing impossible that any such matter could be attempted, but that it must needs be known otherwise than by his private report. Secondly: I being myself a priest, and in danger of my life by the laws to offer myself to the Council for the revealing a thing which in my conscience I deemed untrue, I thought it mere folly so far to endanger myself for nothing. Thirdly: Mr. Ballard also being a priest, for me to play the spy and to seek his death for a matter that he did but utter to me in secret, whereof there was no hurt done, nor any to my judgment that might come thereof, I thought I might not. So that

The causes moving me not to disclose Mr. Ballard's news.

these were the causes that moved me not to be known of anything. So long, therefore, as this matter came not to light, and I well hoped that it would have been utterly extinguished, and so I feared nothing; but so soon as I heard say Mr. Ballard was apprehended and brought to prison, my sorrows were redoubled, for then I looked every day when I should be called into question. But alas! what do I mean, to go about to excuse my fault through Mr. Ballard's apprehension, or why do not I rather accuse myself, most detestable wretch of all others, of mine own folly and wilfulness in falling into so grievous sins? Was it not mine own fault? Was it not mine own corruption? Could any man constrain me to that impiety had I not wilfully yielded of myself? No, verily: why then unto mine own shame and confusion it must needs redound; no other person can justly be accused of my fault but myself, although indirectly Mr. Ballard's apprehension may seem some occasion; but yet Justice Young his malice, together with the devil's somewhat more, but mine own I must confess to be most of all, and therefore what punishment am I worthy to have that so highly have offended the majesty of God, dishonoured His Church, occasioned such stratagems against so many of my dearest friends and innocents; what amends can I now make? Surely no other but in all humility to confess my wickedness, to crave pardon both of God and the world, and patiently to sustain what punishment soever it shall please God and His ministers to inflict upon me, the which that I may do I beseech His Divine Majesty of His infinite mercy and goodness to assist me with His grace.'

Mr. Ballard's apprehension the indirect cause of my fall.

"To return, therefore, whence I came. After the apprehension of Mr. Ballard, within few days, I was sent for again to Justice Young, who examined me afresh, as if I had not been examined until then. He required many things of me as

My sending for to Justice Young after Mr. Ballard's apprehension.

touching Mr. Ballard, telling me first how dangerous a man he was, and of what heinous matters he was to be charged, and how that I being so long and well acquainted with him could not but be privy to most of his practices, the which unless I would show myself a dutiful subject in revealing of them, I should be sure to abide the smart; whereat, I being overcome with a present fear, I professed I would keep nothing secret that I knew; whereupon I began briefly to reveal what Mr. Ballard had informed me of at his return from France, and disclosed in effect all that he had told me. At the which Justice Young, seeming to be very glad, gave me great commendation for my plain dealing, and promised me that he would procure me what favour he could. Whereupon I liberally offered myself by pen to set down more at large such matters as would not a little import, if so be he would not fail to stand my good friend, and that if it might please her Majesty to be so gracious unto me, I would do her such service as few of my condition had done the like. Whereupon he gave me his hand, and willed me to assure myself that I should find favour, and that it was her Majesty's pleasure to use me, and therefore willed me not to fail, but to send my letters unto him by my keeper the next morning.

Fear made me first shrink.

Shaking hands with Justice Young is one step to the devil.

"After I had made him promise so to do and was departed home to my prison, good Lord! what a conflict had I in my conscience to think what I had done! How often did I condemn myself for my offence, refusing to go any further, and how often gave I consent back again! Alas! being weakened by my former fault, and plunged now further in than I could tell how to wind myself out, fearing that unless I would discover somewhat further, that which I had already spoken would very likely cast me away, and not having, in truth, any further true matter of importance, yet for saving myself I thought that I must enter into somewhat; and so suddenly

The combat between my good angel and bad.

in this wicked discourse, yielding too much to the temptation of the enemy, and not lifting up my thoughts and heart unto Almighty God, from whence I should have received assistance of grace and comfort, in one moment I threw myself down headlong into sin, whereby the devil seized upon me with his power altogether. That night before I went to bed I did set down by pen as much against Mr. Ballard as I did know, I mean of his own speeches since his last coming out of France, how he revealed them unto me, and how I revealed them again unto one Mr. Barnwell, an Irish gentleman, and so much I did set down of this Mr. Barnwell as I was sure was enough to cast him away; and yet in conscience I was persuaded that he never in heart consented to any traitorous attempt in his life.

My yielding to the devil.

"I did sit up that night I think until ten of the clock ending of that letter, and when I had finished and was gone to bed, I could not sleep for anguish of mind in thinking I should be the cause of the casting away a gentleman upon my report, he never assenting unto harm: for when I first began to make relation unto Mr. Barnwell of the aforementioned speeches of Ballard, I remembered well with what heaviness and sorrow of heart the good honest gentleman did listen unto my tale, saying that if it came so to pass God would punish our country by sending in a foreign power, and that the Catholic religion could not be established otherwise but by the sword, 'I pray God,' quoth he, 'give me grace to spend my life in that quarrel that I may please Him best.' And this was the worst word that I ever did hear the gentleman say, only this he added, that the news was to be spoken very sparingly, and but to a very few, for that they imported such danger if they should be known; yet I in my letter had set down his speeches in such sinister manner as though willingly he had condescended to have

My good angel was loth yet that I should perish.

My dealing with Mr. Barnwell.

played the traitor, which I protest upon my soul was not so.

Full sore was I troubled all that night for the writing of this, so that in the morning I did rise very early and did tear it all to pieces, and framed another wherein I specified some matter of Ballard, and left out Mr. Barnwell altogether, thinking that I would not lay his innocent blood upon my shoulders. And that letter being made I set it away to Justice Young, but this would not so content him, for when he had perceived I had once began to dip my finger in blood, he would not leave until that I had wet my whole fist, wherefore he sendeth me a note of divers gentlemen's names, and requireth me to make answer unto them the next morning. All that night I was wonderful perplexed what I should do, and in the end the devil getting the upper hand, I fell into a most desperate discourse with myself, for I began to think that I had now gone further than I could call myself back again, and therefore since I had already offended God so deeply, and given, as I thought, my soul into the possession of the devil, I would set up my rest for some worldly gain, and from that time I gave my consent fully to become a Judas in kind, or rather a most unkind beast, to betray [my] Master, my friends, my brethren, my countrymen, and in one moment of time to abandon myself of all grace and goodness that ever I had obtained in my life before, and plunged myself headlong into the bottomless pit of hell."

My conscience cried out against my first letter.

A desperate resolution.

This much writeth Tyrrell of his own good disposition when he determined to change his religion and serve Justice Young's turn in all things, whereof you shall hear the particulars in the chapter following.

CHAPTER V.

OF HIS DESPERATE RESOLUTION TO DENY HIS RELIGION AGAINST HIS OWN CONSCIENCE, AND OF HIS ACCUSING INNOCENT MEN WRONGFULLY AND MALICIOUSLY: AND OF JUSTICE YOUNG AND THE LORD TREASURER'S MANNER OF PROCEEDING WITH HIM IN THESE AFFAIRS.

AFTER his most impious and desperate determination to break with all, and to have no more respect to truth, honesty, or religion, nor to God or His judgments, as in the end of the former chapter himself hath declared, there followeth a declaration of his damnable course in that behalf, which shall be laid down altogether in his owr words, which are these that ensue.

"After that I had condescended to play the miscreant and to lose my title and interest to God's everlasting kingdom for less than a mess of potage, I began to think what I might do to prolong this wretched life and carcase of mine to make some temporal gain.

"And first I considered that my state stood upon very slippery points, for that I being a priest, that way I was in hazard of my life, unless I would recant. Secondly, the matters that I had begun to mention were no less than treasonable, and the further that I waded in uttering my knowledge of them, the further I should bemire myself. And moreover, to put myself into Justice Young's hands I thought it a very unwise part, and to make him privy unto all my secrets, I imagined that he would use them all to his own benefit and credit only, and I might chance to be fairly rewarded at last with a hempen halter, as Judas was for betraying

The devil suggesteth divers cogitations.

his Master, wherefore I liking not any of these courses, I rather made choice of this other way, that now I will tell.

"And to begin, the devil thought that he would work surely with me, which was to overthrow the very tower of my soul, and utterly to undermine me at the very root and foundation, and so persuaded me altogether to forsake my religion and to become on the sudden a zealous Protestant, as brought unto it without all conference or study, only by revelation: for otherwise, thought I, in all my intended mischiefs, if I keep my Catholic religion still and play such parts as I now purposed, I should be most odible unto God and unto all Catholics, and be but contemned also of the Protestants for my labour, and hardly of them be beloved.

No way to purchase true credit with a Protestant but to forsake my Faith.

"Therefore to work surely I must, thought I, relinquish utterly my faith and religion, and upon a devilish ground go forward with all mischief without remorse, as I have begun. It shall suffice, therefore, thought I, to write to Justice Young, that his orderly proceedings with me and godly persuasions had prevailed so much as that they had gained a soul (from God to the devil in truth was my meaning), and that he had been a great motive unto my conversion, especially the grace of God so working therewith. And thus in these terms I thought to flatter him up, but notwithstanding for matters that concerned the State, whereof I thought I would yield him great store, if I did see any cause, I would not be too busy with him, but rather I thought it best by them to curry favour with my Lord Treasurer himself, and therefore I craved that I might come to the speech of the said Treasurer, as if I had matter far more important than ever I spoke of yet to Young to utter unto him. After that I had thus wickedly invented, I did write a letter unto Justice Young, the contents thereof were too miserable; for can it

A devilish purpose.

enter into any man's mind that ever had knowledge before of my life and conversion that I should become of such a horrible mind, of such a monstrous intention, being a Catholic priest, to write so abominably as I did, contrary to mine own knowledge, contrary to my conscience, against the majesty of Almighty God and my sweet and tender mother the Catholic Church, that so carefully had fostered me up; yet so it was, and what did I write? I quake now to repeat it. Alas! I did write with great impudency that I acknowledged myself by reason of my Romish religion highly to have offended God and her Majesty, and did not let to affirm that our religion Catholic (out of the which I knew there can be no salvation), was both false, wicked, and damnable, that all Catholics were traitors, that I had too long traced their accursed steps, that I desired now on my knees to be delivered, that I submitted myself unto her Majesty's mercy, that I was weary to live under the servitude of Pharao, that I desired now to become a true Israelite and a perfect member of Jesus Christ, or rather an accursed limb of Satan, as my conscience still told me: but yet thus damnably did I write, and in the end I concluded with this petition, that if I might come unto my Lord Treasurer's presence that then I would show the fruits of a true and perfect subject (which were indeed to betray innocents and to seek the effusion of guiltless blood). Thus then I wrote, and much more. This letter sealed and sent, I made no doubt of a speedy answer, and forthwith the very same day, in the afternoon, being Sunday, I was sent for unto Justice Young, and as soon as I was come hither he carried me up into his upper parlour all alone, and pinning fast the door did then embrace me in his arms, as who should say, Welcome home, gentle brother. Now I was no more accounted a traitor or a practiser of treasons; all were gone with the bare name of Papist, notwithstanding

My abominable letter to Justice Young upon a Sunday.

One devil embraceth another.

that I intended to become a traitor in the highest degree in betraying of Christ and His servants, I was now as honest a Protestant as the best. But, alas! small cause had I to comfort myself with such a courtesy. This new friendship exiled me quite from my wonted glory. Oh, that I been the veriest abject in the world, so as I had continued the servant of God still! After that he had in his arms embraced me, 'Oh,' quoth he, 'how I rejoice, Mr. Tyrrell, to see this day!' (Oh, Lord, thought I, how many good men in the world would bitterly lament to hear of this day?) 'I have perused your letter,' quoth he, 'and I have showed it unto the Lords of the Council, and it is incredible what joy they have conceived upon the hearsay of your conversion. My Lord Treasurer will speak with you some time this day; there is an hour appointed, when you and I shall go to him.' In the meantime he told me many ridiculous [stories] of himself, how he being once an earnest Papist it pleased God to open his eyes by reading of the Scriptures, and how he [came] to be a perfect Protestant; but he yielded me such blind reasons, notwithstanding his eyes were so pened, as he said, that had I not of purpose before wilfully given myself over to the devil, it had been surely enough to have called me back again to hear him, but in truth in my sleeve I laughed his vain speeches to scorn. No comfort or taste could I find at all in his words, but to my conscience they were as bitter as gall, although outwardly I seemed to savour them as sweet as honey. To be short, the time coming that we were to go to my lord he made me put off my gown, and to put on a cloak of his, and so taking water at Allhallows, we landed at the Strand, and coming about on the back of my lord's, by the fields, we were let into his garden, where my lord, in one of his walking alleys, expected our coming, and entering into a banqueting-house, I came before his presence, and prostrating myself at his feet he

Young's speech at my turning.

My Lord Treasurer his speeches at my first coming.

bade me arise, and with unctuous words began to tell me how glad he was to hear of my penitent mind, and should be much gladder if I meant that I had written unfeignedly. He told me as he doubted not but that God could call a man home at all times miraculously, as He called Paul and others, yet my conversion could not be but strange, both by reason of my bringing up and long conversation; adding that *subitæ mutationes* were *valde periculosæ*, or at least *suspiciosæ*, which, as I remember, were then his words, and therefore he willed me to deal sincerely and plainly in everything. I protested unto him that so I would, and that I would halt in nothing, and protested moreover that I would become a conformable man in all respects unto her Majesty, and was sorry with all my heart that I had swerved from her Majesty's laws, which was only by reason of my perverse opinions, and therefore most humbly craved pardon for that which was past, and I did swear to be true and obedient for the time to come. 'Deceived,' quoth I, 'I might be in my religion, but traitor in my heart I was never. But well I perceived how hard a thing it was to be a Papist, and no traitor, and therefore I was fully minded to relinquish both the one and the other.'

Now was I tied to the devil in a string, to be drawn unto anything.

"My speeches seeming well pleasing unto my lord, he began to inquire many things of me as touching Ballard, Barnwell, Babington, Tichborne, Tilney, E. Windsor, Abington, and others, of whom I did speak fully as much as I did know and more, with hard and bitter speeches against each of them; what evil members they were, what evil practices they went about; objecting more against them than was true, the particulars whereof shall be showed anon.

"My lord hearing me to accuse them so frankly, and perceiving that I did speak it with a mind resolute to despatch them, thought with

The courtesy a man shall find for playing the knave.

himself that I was likely to prove a man fit for their commonwealth, and therewithal promised me that I should lack nothing; and as he was entering to a further discourse with me, one of his gentlemen informeth him of the coming of the Earl of Huntingdon, whereupon my lord said he would talk with me more at large another time.

"In the parting, for my farewell I maliciously appeached two honest gentlemen; the one was Mr. Bold of Lancashire, the other was one Captain Jacques, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's man. As touching Mr. Bold, I told my lord that sithence his coming out of Flanders both myself and Edmonds the Jesuit had been at his house; how he purposed to be reconciled; how there was Mass said there; how he heard a sermon; what company were at it; what vile words he should speak against the Earl of Leicester, and that he intended to do some mischief in the camp, with other notorious lies of the gentleman, as hereafter I shall more in particular set down. In like manner I told many perilous and dangerous things against Mr. Jacques, whereas I protest before God I never heard or saw any hurt by the man; what my words were of him I shall declare anon.

Mr. Bold, first accused by me, and also Jacques, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's man.

"My Lord Treasurer not having any longer leisure to talk with me as then by reason of the Earl of Huntingdon's coming, called for Justice Young, and willed him that he should keep all things concerning me very secret, and colourably give out that I showed myself very stubborn and obstinate; and the better to blind the Catholics from the knowledge of my doings, whereas before I had the liberty of the prison, I was now to be kept as close prisoner again, as if by reason of my stout answers some further displeasure had been conceived against me. Thus was I brought back again unto Justice Young's house, with whom I supped that night, and after supper he sent me unto the Counter, accompanied with one of his men, who was willed to tell

The policy they practise to conserve their spies.

the keeper that I must have a good chamber and good lodging, and be very well used, saving that the liberty of the house must be taken from me again.

"All my Catholic friends in the Counter marvelled what became of me all that day, and hearing the next morning that I was come home again, and shut up closely in my chamber, they marvelled much more, insomuch as they being desirous to know how the world went with me, they sent me by some means a little note, requesting me to inform them the cause of my close imprisonment. I made them an answer quite from the truth, for that the spirit of lying had now possessed me, and made them believe that I was very straitly examined about Mr. Ballard, and that I cleared myself and hurt not him; and because I would not confess that which I knew not, I was shut up close again.

"This answer contenting them, I remained in my chamber, close in body, but having a mind enlarged unto all mischief. I had no other thoughts but how to gain favour and credit in the world, not regarding how dishonestly I behaved myself, nor what falsehoods I did devise so I might obtain the liberty, favour, and pleasure that I desired."

CHAPTER VI.

OF A LETTER WRITTEN UNTO HIM BY THE TREASURER, AND OF HIS MOST WICKED AND LYING ANSWER TO THE SAME, CONTAINING THE GROUNDS OF MANY MEN'S UNJUST DEATHS AFTERWARDS.

TYRRELL being so far gone now as himself hath confessed in the former chapter, and so bent to all mischief as he might be bade to say, swear, and feign whatsoever might be in prejudice of any Catholic whatsoever, it seemed to the Treasurer and Young that they had a fit man to labour upon, and so the Treasurer wrote unto him out of hand to that effect, and for the effects which you shall hear Tyrrell report with his own pen; for thus he saith—

"The next day after I was sent for again unto Justice Young in great haste. When I came thither he delivered me a letter sent from my Lord Treasurer, the which I must answer with all speed I could; and so being ready to depart back again for the more speedy answering of this letter, before my departure, because I would have Justice Young to think that I began to be somewhat zealous in my new religion, I desired him to lend me some virtuous book to comfort me now in the beginning of my conversion, for that I minded no more for that time to use either my breviary or any other Catholic prayers, as, God forgive me, I did not, except sometimes by way of dissimulation. He was very glad of my request, and said that I should have anything, and he sent me a wholesome and a comfortable piece of work, to bring a man headlong unto the devil, forsooth, Calvin's *Justifications*, in English, the which I received as a book of great

Notable dissimulation.

price, and I liked it so well, as ever when I read it methought I drew nearer and nearer to the devil and mine own damnation: such monstrous blasphemies and absurdities I found that I wished mine own knowledge to have been much less, that I might the more easily have believed them. But let Calvin rest in the devil's name, with whom no doubt he dwelleth for ever, and let me return to the answering of my lord's letter.

"When I was come home I perused the letter over and over, and that my answer thereunto may the better be known, I shall set down my lord's letter verbatim as it was, the which he did write unto me with his own hand, and sealed it with his seal of arms, the true original whereof I have yet to show.

"*The copy of a letter written unto me by my Lord Treasurer, at what time I was prisoner in the Counter in Wood Street, the day after I had been with him at his house in the Strand.*

"I pray you deal plainly with me, for I mean charitably towards you, both for compassion of your adversity and for your father's sake, whom I loved entirely, as I am sure he did me. There is a God that only seeth the cogitations of our hearts. He cannot be deceived, and therefore remember what was said by St. Peter in the Acts of the Apostles to Ananias and Saphira. They both pretended to bring to the Apostles the price of their goods, but they brought but a part, concealing the rest. You may apply this to beware in your offer to me, that you deliver not to me a portion and keep back the greater portion. I am surely in hope that you will not so do. Therefore I earnestly pray you, enlarge your letter and writing unto me with matters of importance and not of unnecessary circumstances. And though a short time cannot serve to repeal actions of long time, which yet hereafter I will desire, I pray you for this present to begin to show your know-

Scripture well applied by the Treasurer.

ledge of the needful circumstances of these late actions intended sithence Fortescue's last return. Omit not to name to me the parties as well taken or discovered as not taken nor discovered. Explicate the matter of Bold of Lancashire, which you touched briefly, but I did not hear you. August 28, 1586.

"Yours assured to acquite [requite] you for your pains,

"WILLIAM BURGHLEY."

This was the Treasurer's letter, whereby it well appeareth what store he meant to draw out of this man, seeing that by authority of Scripture also he urgeth him to utter more than he had told him the day before, though, as Tyrrell affirmeth, his own asseverations and accusations to him had been so many, so sharp, and so furious, as in reason he must needs suspect they were of passion, and upon intention only to please him, and so the Treasurer his speech to Tyrrell himself did import that he mistrusted him, yet now he desired more of that mine and forge, and Tyrrell was as ready to serve his turn, for thus he writeth, page 41.

"I would to God I had answered this letter of my lord's according to the ground that he himself had set down. I would to God I had truly performed my duty according unto my lord's own request of dealing plainly, for then had not I feigned so much false matter unto him as I did, and as it pleased him to vouchsafe me his charitable compassion then for my temporal adversity, I would to God it would please his honour now to have compassion on me in the damnable estate that I am fallen into for the recovery again of God His grace [lost] so wilfully through sin. And whereas he put me in consideration of a God that seeth the cogitations of our hearts, if I had truly considered that, I should no doubt have trembled in the uttering of my foul and damnable cogitations fraught full of malice, sin, and impiety. And whereas he putteth

me in remembrance of the severe judgments of Almighty God against Ananias and Saphira for bringing but a part of their substance that before was their own, and were stricken with sudden death for concealing of the rest, I would I had been so gracious as to have remembered the like severity towards myself, bringing in a great deal more than was my mine own against a number of innocents whom I accused with most horrible slanders, of the which I now do bitterly repent, and shall while life doth last. . . .

"If I had had the grace to have followed the counsel of my lord, which he gave me in these his letters, truly I had not committed so great and grievous sins as I did. But leaving my complaint until another time, I will set down as near as I can the effect of mine own answer unto this letter received, and unfold the untruths and misreports that I therein did make. As I remember, thus I began.[1]

My wicked answer to the Treasurer.

"'Right honourable and very good Lord,—If I should use any dissimulation, or not deal plainly, I require for my deserts the same reward that Ananias and Saphira had.' Thus was the beginning, but for brevity sake I will omit to put down in all points my letter as I did then write, only I will touch here the principal contents whereof I discoursed, as of Mr. Fortescue's going out of England and mine together unto Rome, and how that Mr. Fortescue being at Rome should desire the Rector of the English Seminary named Alphonsus Agazzarus, to move unto his general and to other learned men of the

[1] The original letter is endorsed by Lord Burghley, "30 Aug. 1586. Tyrrell's second confession." P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xix. n. 67. Tyrrell's first letter to Burghley is dated July 6, 1586, and is in the British Museum, *Lansd. MSS.* 50, n. 73. An extract from it will be given later. In another letter written by him on the 27th of August (*ibid.* n. 74) he says, "The residue of my life, if it may please her Majesty to accept it, shall make such satisfaction as never any of my condition hath done in her Majesty's time. When I come before your honour, you shall find that I do not feign, and shall be able to certify your honour of that, of the which you shall be full fain." His "first confession," which was addressed to Young, is not preserved.

Society, this question, whether it were not a lawful thing to kill the Queen, she standing excommunicate, and they giving their answers affirmatively, that then he desired the Rector at what time we were to be brought before the Pope his presence that he would in our behalfs make suit unto His Holiness that he would give us leave to attempt that enterprise, and how the Pope should much rejoice at our request, and grant our desired petition, and promise

Against the Pope.

a great reward unto the doer: which I protest before God and His angels to have been most false, for there was no such matter intended or spoken of; yet I devised a horrible speech that the Rector should frame unto the Pope in our behalfs, and of an answer that the Pope should make unto the same again, most false and abominable, the effect whereof I shall set down anon, when I come to the answering of my lord's second letter, and particular interrogatories which [I] shall put down in the chapter following.

"I did write moreover that Mr. Ballard told me that

Against Ballard.

he would venture his life for to accomplish his enterprise in procuring of her Majesty's death, and that very shortly, which I protest before God to have been most false, for I never heard him in my life talk of any such matter.

"I did moreover appeach Mr. Edward Windsor for keeping Ballard company, protesting that to my knowledge I never knew Mr. Windsor converse with Mr. Ballard for any harm. I did inform, notwithstanding that Mr. Windsor brought Mr. Ballard to view the secrets of Whitehall, as men that had conspired her Majesty's death, and devised a plot how to perform that enterprise, which I protest upon the salvation of my soul to have been most false unto my knowledge and a thing only of my own inventing.

"I accused in the same letter Mr. Ed. Windsor as one that should conspire with others her Majesty's death, and the matter to been have debated on in my chamber in the com-

pany of Ballard, Charles Tilney, Edward Windsor and myself, and that Charles Tilney his device was to deal with some lady or gentleman of her Majesty's Privy Chamber for the poisoning of the Queen, and how that Edward Windsor should altogether mislike that, as not thinking it wisdom to commit his life unto the hazard of a woman, but thought it better to procure it by pistol: all the which I protest to have been most false, and that there was never talk of any such matter.

Poisoning the Queen.

"I did moreover accuse Ballard for repairing unto many noblemen in this land, as to the Lord Windsor, the Lord Stourton and others: which I protest was contrary unto my knowledge, and that I did speak it altogether of malice.

"I mentioned in the same letter a horrible practice that should have been attempted in the Star Chamber: which was a thing most false and untrue, as I did report it; the particulars whereof I shall have occasion to mention in the answer that I made unto my lord's articles that he sent me.

Murder in the Star Chamber.

"In the same matter I falsely accused the Earl of Arundel, the Queen of Scots, Davy Ingleby and others.

"I amplified Ballard's being at the French Ambassador's with me; and falsely accused Charles Tilney in that action, and that he also should conspire her Majesty's death: which as I shall answer at the dreadful day of doom, I never knew any such thought or inclination in the man.

"As touching Mr. Ballard's going into France, I did most falsely set down his purpose and intent to have been most wicked and traitorous, and that many gentlemen of great worship were privy to the same: which is as false as all the rest. The names of the gentlemen that I informed I shall set down hereafter.

"In the same letter most maliciously and slanderously I did set down Ballard's being in the north, and of his

acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Metham, Ralph Craythorne, Mr. Babthorpe, Typping, Dynnington, Crosslands, with other gentlemen of the north. The particulars of each person I shall set down hereafter. I impeached the two Wisemen [*sic*] of Essex, and Thorogood of the Temple of matters that I never knew.

"I impeached the Countess of Arundel for receiving of Gilbert Gifford, and for conveying a message that he brought unto the Earl from the Duke [of] Guise, which I protest to my knowledge to have been most false: and that George Gifford should have been one of the conspiracy, which man neither did I know nor ever heard him spoken of in those matters.

"I accused the Earl of Arundel for delivering of sums of money unto Ballard and Grately of Burlace, his man: which I protest to be most false and untrue to my knowledge, as I shall answer before God.

"I accused the Countess of Arundel for entertaining of one Baily, and of secret repair unto her: the which I spake maliciously, not knowing any such matter.

"I accused Mr. Bold of Lancashire of many untruths, as in my answer to my lord's next letter shall appear.

"I accused Jacques, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's man, of conspiring treasons, never knowing the man but to be a most loyal subject unto her Majesty.

"Of all these matters and persons I did write unto my lord a letter at large, which contained nought else but false reports, malicious inventions of mine own pernicious head, that according to my lord's request in his letters, he might be assured that I brought forth all the provision that I had, or rather more, and all to gain credit and to make him think that I did know much, and could discover much, whereof as it seemed my lord stood persuaded, as by his next writing unto me may appear."

CHAPTER VII.

HOW THE LORD TREASURER, UPON SIGHT OF THE FORMER LETTER, SENT TWENTY-EIGHT NEW INTERROGATORIES, AND TYRRELL'S ANSWERS TO THE SAME.

ALBEIT it might seem that by the former letter which Tyrrell sent unto the Treasurer of accusations, he should have satisfied his appetite in that kind, yet it proved not so, for that he was pressed presently to utter more, as may appear by the twenty-eight articles which here do ensue, sent by the said Treasurer out of hand upon the receipt of the former letter, whereof Tyrrell himself writeth as followeth.

"This letter being ended, sealed, and sent, the next day my Lord Treasurer sendeth me a catalogue drawn out into articles to answer unto, which he gathered out of the contents of my former letters, which I have here set down verbatim as I have it written with my lord's own hand."

Thus saith Tyrrell, and then he setteth down the said twenty-eight articles in order, after which all the Treasurer's words in his letter are these—

"I pray you consider all these articles, and the sundry circumstances thereof, and make answer to them as particularly as you can, answering every article particularly as they are divided in numbers, and what you think convenient for to be discovered for the safety of the Queen and for continuance of peace in her realm; for which you may be assured of God's favour for discharge of your own conscience, and shall not lack all necessary maintainance of the Queen by my means.

"Yours assured,

"WILLIAM BURGHLEY."

Upon which articles Tyrrell writeth in this manner. "When I had received all these foresaid articles to answer unto as they are before set down, it is a thing almost incredible that a man having received the grace of God, could be so far forgetful of himself as to convert His mercies into such malice, hatred, and contempt as I did. O sin most execrable, that driveth a man into all abomination, far worse than any beast, and to become as odious unto God as the very devil himself, for otherwise how could it possibly have been, that a man of my quality and condition should have framed such monstrous answers as here you shall see, contrary to all truth, conscience, and honesty, thereby to seek the ruin and overthrow, if it had been in my power, of God Almighty Himself, His Church, and saints, and of so many worthy persons as by me were injured in these my answers, whereby I think verily that God in this our age would permit me to be an example for all posterity, by His severe justice. I beseech you all that shall be hearers of my grievous crimes, abhorring my evil mind, pity my lamentable estate, remember that I am flesh and blood, pray for my true repentance, for now I do begin." Thus Tyrrell.

And hitherto in his preface to his answers that he made to the Treasurer's articles, which he did set down altogether and after repeated them again for their answering, but I for more brevity and distinction's sake, will put down every article asunder with the answers somewhat abbreviated, for that oftentimes they are very large, and do repeat that which sufficiently hath been uttered in other places before.

Article 1—*Treasurer.*

"Before your going out of England with Fortescue (*alias* Ballard) to Rome, how many and who were privy to both your goings out of England?"

Answer[1]*—Tyrrell.*

"In this article I accused so many Catholics in England, gentlemen or otherwise, as I could call to remembrance had ever upon any occasion yielded any relief to Ballard or me, adding also very malicious causes to the same; which for that I know not what matter of prejudice my lord may infer thereof, I do here protest, first, that it was before the statute made for relieving of banished priests; and secondly, that it was to no other end but that we should serve God, continue at our books, and pray for them, and therefore I ask them most humbly forgiveness, on my knees, for so abusing their charities."

Lies against my benefactors.

[Tyrrell's list of his ill-requited benefactors, as given in his original letter, is as follows.

"There were privy to my departure out of England Edward Suliard of Wetherden, the Lady Babthorpe his wife, with whom I was then resident, Thomas Suliard, brother to Edward, the Lady Waldegrave, married to Sir William of Smalbridge, to whom I was brought secretly at her house at Stoke in Sir William's absence, where I said Mass, made a sermon before herself, Mr. Nudygatt, and others whom I know not, should have reconciled her daughter, but that I thought her scarce fit. At my departure she earnestly entreated me to remember her to the lord her brother, to Charles, and to tell him that he should not take care for want, hoping he would so employ himself as always he had promised. There were privy to my going besides Mr. Mannock her neighbour, Mr. Harry Drury of Losell, Rookwood of Coldham Hall and their wives, old Martyn of Melford, the Lady Paulett of Borley, Danyell of Acton and his mother, Yaxley of Yaxley, Bedingfield of Bedingfield, Michell Hare of

[1] The original is endorsed by Burghley, "31 Aug. 1586. Ant. Tyrrell's answer to the Articles." P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xix. n. 68.

Brustyard Everatt, widow Rowse, Nicholas Temperley of Boyton Hall and his wife, with many other inferior persons within that shire too long here to repeat. In Norfolk there were privy to my departure the Lady Lovell, Mrs. Woodhouse of Breckells, Philip Audley and his wife, Ferdinando Parys and his wife. No more in that county were privy to my departure, although I was most familiarly acquainted with all the rest.

"Fortescue came not at that time into those countries but only to Nicholas Temperley's and to Harry Drury's of Losell, who I think were privy in those parts of his departure. Before he determined this voyage he had travelled the west parts, Hampshire, and other countries which I know not. In London from whence we rid [rode] together to the sea-coast, were acquainted with his departure Sir John Arundell, with whom he was then very great, and all his house, Tremaine and all his house, many gentlemen of the Inns of Court, whom I as then knew not. His provision was 100*l.* and mine 60*l.* We rid directly into Hampshire, took many houses of his acquaintance by the way, whose names I do not now remember, came to Dymock's, hard by the Earl of Southampton's, he himself being not at home, but there by his consent we were entertained by Wright and his wife, lay there five or six days, there we met Bray, who made our passage for 5*s.*, and had brought other company for to travel over, namely three priests, two old men and a young; the old men were named, the one Greene, the other Hawkins, that had been Sir John Arundell's priest in Cornwall, the third was called John Long, *alias* Mytton, that had been resident with the Countess of Arundel. There were besides in our company Harry Hubbard, son and heir to Hubbard of Hales' Hall in Norfolk, who fleeing his country when the stirs were at Norwich, ventured himself with me. Another gentleman called Harrison, cousin either to my Lord Vaux or Sir Thomas Tresham,

Fortescue's man whom he brought out of Cornwall, and a little boy, which was Henry Wells his son, lying then in Southampton House, and so we in one night took shipping."]

Article 2—Treasurer.

"What were the intentions and purposes of you both for your going out of England, and who in England were acquainted therewith?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"To this article I framed my answer as I thought might serve best my own turn; for, having excused my own going over as only for cause of study (as in truth it was), and Ballard's also, I fell presently most maliciously to slander him and others, saying that he being arrived beyond the seas, opened unto me his mind for going to Rome, with intention to procure a dispensation of the Pope for killing the Queen, and that he needs would have me go with him for that purpose, and I accused as many by name in England as I knew to be of his acquaintance, as though they had been privy of this his mind and errand: all which I do protest to have been a most notorious slander, and I am to ask God and his soul, that is now dead, pardon for the same, for I never heard him speak word of any such matter, or perceived any least intention of him or any of his friends that way."

Lies against Mr. Ballard and his friends.

Article 3—Treasurer.

"With whom did any of you confer beyond the seas afore your going to Rome? and how were your charges borne to go out of England and to Rome?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"To this article I answered almost not a true word, but thought to take an occasion out of this to coin many a notorious lie, telling some true things

Lies of Rouen.

withal which might seem to bolster out and give some colour to the lies which I framed.

"For first, I told truly that at our coming to Rouen in Normandy, we found there one George Stoker, which in time past had served the Earl of Northumberland, and then I framed that Ballard and this Stoker fell into great conferences of treason, and to write and receive letters from the Lord Seaton, Ambassador at that time for the King and Queen of Scots in Paris, whereof I made long tales and set down many particularities, all of my own inventing, and without any truth at all, as God is my Judge.

"Secondly, I told of our going hence to Eu, where there was an English Seminary of some twelve

Lies of Eu. English gentlemen's sons or more, maintained by the Duke of Guise, which was true; but hereupon I framed many conferences of treason for putting down the Queen and advancing the Queen of Scots, between Ballard and Mr. Mann (*alias* Chambers), President of that College, and the Duke of Guise: all which was most false, and no such thing at all, and I do ask the parties most humbly forgiveness. Hence we went to

Lies of Rheims. Rheims, where I framed the like conferences with Dr. Allen and others for killing her Majesty, that all should like well thereof, and that we heard many seditious sermons made there, and namely by Dr. Gifford, calling the Queen tyrant, usurper, and other like odious terms: whereof, God forgive me, no one word was true.

"From hence we passed to Mussipont in Lorraine, where

Lies of Mussipont. I said we had the like conferences and devised a great number of lies besides, as that the Rector of the Jesuits there should tell us of great preparations in hand against England, and that two Scotch Jesuits, named Edmund Hay and James Gordon, should speak odious words against the Queen, and pronounce Mary Queen of Scotland to be the true Queen

of England, with such-like other inventions which were all false: and I ask God and those good fathers' forgiveness who treated us far better than we deserved.

"From Mussipont we went to Milan, where I framed much worse matter yet against Dr. Lewis, setting down particulars how he did lead Ballard and me into his study, and having heard the proposition of killing the Queen, should say, 'Aye, marry, Mr. Ballard,' taking him by the hand, 'now you touch the quick indeed, and you and I are of one opinion, and I being a lawyer can resolve you *de jure*, that it is most lawful, but I dare not utter this to every one, though many from England have asked me this question.'

Lies of Milan.

"Moreover, I feigned that I disputed with Ballard against this opinion, and was like to fall out with him for the same: all which from the beginning unto the last period I protest before God to have been most untrue, and a mere invention of my own pernicious brain, to get credit with my Lord Treasurer; and so I ask both Dr. Lewis and Mr. Ballard's soul forgiveness as the rest."

Article 4—Treasurer.

"What Englishmen were acquainted with your negotiation in Rome with Alphonsus Agazzarius for killing the Queen, and what was the General's name unto whom Alphonsus moved the matter propounded by you and Fortescue? Whom do you know to have proposed like matters, and what answers were given thereunto?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"To this article I answered by prosecuting my former lie, making a long tale how at our coming to Rome[1] I was requested by Ballard, as

Lies of our Roman negotiation.

1 "Pater Joannes Tirellus presbyter Londiniensis, Pater Joannes Balardus diœcesis Londiniensis, Pater Joannes Longus diœcesis Bathoniensis, excepti fuerunt hospitio 7º Septembris [1584], manserunt per dies 24." *Pilgrims' Register* of the English College, Rome.

one best acquainted with F. Alphonsus, whose scholar I had been, to break the matter of killing the Queen to him in his chamber, and that he did not rejoice a little to see that priests were come to that perfect zeal as to offer the making away of the Queen, for that this was as he said, *vesci solido cibo*, and not to be younglings still, *quibus lacte opus est*, as the Apostle's words are, and that he embraced us both for joy, imparted the matter with one Father William Good, confessor of the College, and that they two did break it with their General, named Claudius Aquaviva, who took the matter joyfully also, and as I feigned, made a long odious speech unto us against the Queen, which I did set it down to my lord at large, as also Father Alphonsus his speech unto the Pope in our presence, and the Pope's answer and determination, which I framed in the most hateful sort against the Queen that I could devise, thereby to put her in rage against the Catholics, with a hundred spiteful circumstances, which here are too long to be put down; as that we conferred this resolution of the Pope for killing the Queen with the Bishop of St. Asaph, and that he should greatly rejoice also thereof, and give us twenty crowns, and Dr. Lewis the like, giving us thirty, and Dr. Allen the like, at our return by him, but yet with such recommendations of secrecy, as if we should fall into the enemy's hands and be put to torments we should not in any case reveal it, for that he should assure us that it would be martyrdom to die in the denial thereof: which malicious clause I did put in, for the more torment of Mr. Ballard, and to the end that albeit he did deny it upon the rack (as I knew he must needs, except he would confess a mere fable never heard or thought of), yet should they never believe him, but rather only me that confessed I cared not what against myself, being assured of my lord's favour so I might hurt others.

Abominable wickedness.

"Thus have you heard a long and monstrous tale, most

untrue as I desire to be holpen of Almighty God in all my miseries either here or in the world to come; for neither was there ever any such speech or negotiations with the foresaid persons in any of the places named, neither ever would we have durst to have proposed any such thing unto them, if Ballard or I had been so wicked as to conceive it, as I thank God we never were: and therefore I cry mercy with all my heart as in the rest."

Article 5—Treasurer.

"What other request made you to the Pope Gregory besides that of the Queen's death? What communications passed between you and the General, or the Pope, or any other, after the Pope's censure given you? For the manner of the prosecution of the Queen's death, how, and how soon that might be attempted?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"The most part of that which toucheth this article is set down in my answer to the former, namely, concerning our conferences and communications with the Pope, General, Rector, Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Lewis, Dr. Allen, and the rest, whereunto I added here a foul lie, saying that for the manner of execution of killing the Queen, Ballard had told me that divers young Catholic gentlemen in England had given him their word to offer up their lives in adventuring the same, whensoever the Pope should determine it to be lawful, and that Mr. Edward Windsor should be one of the principal: which being most false, as it was, I ask God and him pardon for the injury."

Lies against young gentlemen.

Article 6—Treasurer.

"When Fortescue told you he would venture his life to procure this act very shortly, in what sort did he imagine to attempt this?"

Answer Tyrrell.

"Here I feigned a new lie, saying that Ballard grew to be zealous after the Pope's declaration, as he did not stick to say that if all other means failed, he would kill the Queen with his own hands, not declaring the particular manner, but giving only to understand that he would do it in some desperate manner: which I take God to witness was most false like the rest."

Article 7—Treasurer.

"In what month of the last year were you at Rome? How long did you tarry there? With what Englishmen did Fortescue confer there, and where did he lodge? What reward did the Pope, or any other there or on the way, give you, or either of you? By what places did you return, and to whom was this your answer of the Pope known at any place or time, before your arrival in England?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"The answer to this is contained in that I have said before to the third and fourth articles, only I added here some new lies, as upon every occasion I was ready to furnish my lord's store; to wit, that the Pope gave us two hundred crowns, the Rector sixty, Dr. Lewis thirty, the Bishop of St. Asaph twenty. All which was false, except only ten crowns, which the Bishop sent us at our departure, desiring us to pray for him."

["Of the time that we came to Rome, which was in the middle of September was two years; we departed from thence in the middle of October. Our tarrying and conference that we had there was only among the scholars, and chiefly Fortescue's company in Rome was Bagshawe now in the Tower, but his material practices are yet to come." *Orig.*]

Article 8—Treasurer.

At what time and what port did Fortescue and you come into England, and what places did Fortescue haunt after his return into England, and what company did he keep, and where, until he returned again into France?".

Answer—Tyrrell.

"To this article I answered truly about the time, place, and port where we entered, but I lied grievously in saying that presently after our return we repaired both of us to Sir John Arundell's house, and were joyfully received by him; whereas I protest before God that I never saw Sir John Arundell, to my knowledge, in my life, nor never knew that Ballard had seen him. I dilated also much upon the company that Ballard kept more than now I can remember, but sure I am that if I spoke one true word, I uttered twenty false in the same, for which God forgive me."

Lies against Sir John Arundell.

["I departed from Rheims alone to Rouen, left Fortescue behind me, who after me a fortnight came by Paris and Eu, acquainted with C. Paget, C. Arundell, Morgan, and the rest, consulted with them of many devices, and was instructed how he should lay his plot, and being come to Rouen, he and I with Bray that had caused a ship to come out of Hampshire of purpose to fetch us home, we travelled upon Christmas Eve was twelvemonth from Rouen towards Dover, where after a little expecting, our boat came and were landed by Southampton upon St. Stephen's day, as it fell out in England. From thence we went directly to Winchester, lodged at one Cook's that keepeth an inn, where Fortescue was well acquainted, and provided all things necessary for his journey to London. We stayed by the way a night or two at Mapledurham with the widow Shelley.

There we found John Ffoscue,[1] of the Wardrobe, and his wife, to whom with the rest we made presents of such stuff as we brought from Rome, received thanks and rewards, and so came directly to London, where first we took inn at the Bell in Smithfield, Bray, Fortescue, and myself. Presently Fortescue repaired unto Sir John Arundell's, received money for himself and for me with other rewards. We made presents to Sir John and to all the house of such matters as we had (for we brought all our stuff from Rome into England safely). Then after a while, Fortescue and I did ride into Essex to Mr. Mannock's, and so into Suffolk to Mr. Martyn's of Melford, to Mr. Drury's of Losell, Mr. Rookwood's of Coldham Hall, and so to Nicholas Tymperley's, when we parted, not meeting one another until we came to London. After that I had visited my own friends, I came to London, found Fortescue who lodged sometime at the Plough by Temple Bar, sometime in Vine Alley, sometime in one place and sometime in another. His acquaintance increased daily, and outwent me in countenance and credit. Then became he great with Edward Windsor, who carried him into the country sometimes for a fortnight or three weeks together. And his chief friends then were Harry Dunne, Gerard Maryne, Browning his lewd follower, Thurgood of the Temple, with many other gentlemen of the Inns of the Court, especially of Grays Inn, whose names in truth I do not know.

"Then upon occasion of a message that he had from Fuljambe, that lieth now at Paris or at Rouen, to his brother in Leicestershire, Harry Fuljambe, whom he met at London, he travelled with him as also myself into those countries, where we got great acquaintance, as with Harry Palmer of Kegworth, &c." *Orig.*]

[1] Lord Burghley has written all the proper names in the margin, except Sir John Fortescue's. See *Troubles*, First Series, p. 144.

Article 9—Treasurer.

"Into what counties did Fortescue travel in England, and with what company did he pass, and how had you money to bear your charges?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"To this article I answered truly in very few points, but falsely in many. I said truly that we had passed through many shires after our return, which I protest upon my soul was partly upon pleasure, and partly for safety to avoid searches in London; yet did I invent infinite malicious lies of our negotiations in this journey, as though all had been for treason, and having gone to St. Anne of Buckstone [Buxton], Mr. Ballard and I to take the waters there upon pleasure, I feigned that we were sent thither by general consent, and common charges of all the Catholics of the south, to settle intelligence betwixt Scotland and London, and that we two should have passed from thence to the Court of Scotland, and have lain there, to have brought the Scottish nobility into a league with English Catholics for advancing the Queen of Scots, and that our devices should be sent to Father Edmonds the Jesuit, in London, and that we had great sums of money allowed us; which I made more probable by the store of money which I had in my purse when I was taken, which in truth I had gotten by evil means, for that a gentleman having delivered me a hundred pounds to make over to another good man, I deceived them both, and kept the money to myself; which naughty dealing was a preface to my falling afterwards, yet now I affirmed that this money was given to me to the end which I before have mentioned: for which and all the other lies so devised as I have rehearsed, I ask God and all good men forgiveness, and namely, Mr. Edward Windsor, Mr. Dinnington, and divers other gentlemen whom falsely I accused to have accompanied us in this journey."

Lies about our journies in England.

["From thence he and I, with another priest named Brincborne, *alias* Dryland (who of that company I dare swear is one honest man and innocent of all these practices), did ride towards St. Anne of Buckstones, where there should have been a gradual meeting of priests out of all counties, to know how matters went abroad; and coming first to Kingston to Harry Fuljambe's in Leicestershire in the Whitsun holidays, there we stayed a week, and there met us Edward Windsor; and so riding into Derbyshire to Anthony Babington's, who then was not at home, we came to Dethick to his house and lay there three or four nights, where we heard news that our coming to Buckstones had been discovered, which made us afraid to ride thither, and so we altered our course. Only Mr. Dryland did ride thither, for no other cause but for his health as I can assure. Fortescue and I with Mrs. Fuljambe, did ride unto my Lord Dacres, her brother, with Edward Windsor, and lay at my lord's four or five days never suspected; and so to Justice Roades, he himself being in his circuit, had good entertainment of his sons, who took us for gentlemen of their own quality and condition; and so we rode from thence to Doncaster, and so farther into Yorkshire to Typping's, Crossland's, and so up by Newark unto Cambridge, where Fortescue and I parted, he going into Suffolk to Nicholas Tymperley's, carrying him a couple of hounds that he had given him of John Crossland, and I directly to London. After a week or thereabouts, it being about Bartholomew-tide, we met together at London, where Fortescue had his attendants as thick as might be, every gentleman calling him Captain, insomuch that in every tavern and inn in London he was called Captain Fortescue, and every man thought that knew him not, that he with a great band should have gone over with my Lord of Leicester. Many journeys he made with Edward Windsor, but whither of my troth I know not. His charges were

maintained first as I heard by the Earl of Arundel, for Burlace his secretary had brought him acquainted with the Earl. I myself rid with him one journey unto Romford before my lord's apprehension not long, of purpose to speak with Burlace about business that he had to do for the Earl; where we lodging at the inn over against the Cock, at one Hall's as I take it, Burlace was in a chamber at the Cock, whither Fortescue went to him and had great talk with him, and should have received as he said a 100*l.* When he had it I know not well. At supper at our lodging there came to us Burlace, Moyle, Kemp, Medler, and others of my lord's men; whereas I, Moyle, and Kemp falling in to talk, we being but strangers, Burlace gave me a caveat to beware what I did speak. For the rest of his maintenance he had it chiefly by Edward Windsor, very much of Harry Dunne. He was always so bold with gentlemen that apparel should cost him nothing. There came Davie Ingleby and he acquainted, who of all that are [not] taken yet, I take to be the perilous man and the only practiser in the north parts of England. He lieth secretly at one of his sisters', as I heard. Then began Fortescue and Babington acquainted, C. Tilney, the Abingtons, the Wiseman of Essex, with Jacques, Sir Christopher's man, with divers others. Then a great meeting, being at our foresaid chamber where at supper were Babington, D. Ingleby, H. Dunne, Transom *alias* Barber that suffered, P[riest] Fenell, P. Fortescue, and myself with others that I do not well remember. After supper Babington began to enter in with me for the Star Chamber practice, and did as it were but insinuate the matter to feel my liking or consent, I being a P[riest]. I gave him the hearing, inquired how such a thing could be done. He told me, 'with great facility,' and then began to discommend the weakness of some men that had neither courage nor valour. I still hearkened unto the drift. 'At a time,'

quoth he, 'when we may be certainly assured that all the chief councillors of the realm are there assembled, naming the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Treasurer, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Francis Walsingham and others, a dozen lusty gentlemen well picked out with double pistols under their cloaks shall beforehand get every man his room, every man take his man as he sitteth most convenient for him, and discharge upon the sudden. The act shall seem so terrible and will so amaze the company, that we shall,' quoth he, 'with small danger get down. Besides, if any resistance be, we have each man another pistol to defend us, and not only that but also our men, who shall not be fewer in number, with swords and bucklers, shall make our defence that we may have passage either by water or by land. Nay, what say you,' quoth he, 'if at that instant we have as many chosen men as some of them by fine policy shall make errands at the Tower, other some approach near unto the gates, murder the guard, recover an entrance, and then a sufficient number upon Tower Hill to make the supply and surprise the Tower, make our captain the E[arl] of Arun[del]. So having the full force of the Tower, money and munition, the Council all slain, what shall let us to have as many more in twenty-four hours as shall take all London, and then, think you, what may become of the Q[ueen] and the rest of the realm?' When I had heard this discourse, 'In good sooth,' quoth I, 'this is a wonderful conquest in so short a time. It is pity that such heads as yours is, should be left unoccupied.' But the man was in very good earnest and I say he did not feign. This matter was talked afterwards by him and Davy Ingleby, with one more whom I know not in Grays Inn Fields, and canvassed to and fro, but in the end it was thought expedient that Fortescue should [go] into France, and upon his return things should be attempted that were most strange. By reason of the just time and place, all this being before Fortescue's last

going into France. I thought best to answer those articles which your honour hath made the 14th, 15th, and 16th, for more of these there than this I cannot say.

"Hitherto afore Fortescue's last going into France." *In Burghley's hand. Orig.*]

Article 10—*Treasurer.*

"In what places did Fortescue frequent Edward Windsor's company, and at what place was he with the Lord Windsor now deceased, or with him that now is lord?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"To this I answered very falsely also in very many things, feigning Mr. Edward Windsor and Ballard to have made many progresses together, and that Ballard had been with the Lord Windsor deceased, in Cannon Row Street, in London, and oftentimes also with the lord that now is, but that I could not learn the place: all which was falsely devised by myself."

Article 11—*Treasurer.*

"With what other gentlemen did Fortescue converse, and in what places, and what reports did he make to you from time to time how he found men disposed, and of whom did he make best account for their wit and for their activity?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"Upon this article did I discourse very maliciously, naming many gentlemen that should be companions with Ballard in all his purposes, as Mr. Edward Windsor, Mr. Davy Ingleby, Mr. Anthony Babington, Mr. Barnewell, Mr. Jacques, Mr. Charles Tilney, young Mr. Gage, Mr. Henry Dunne, and divers other gentlemen of the Inns of Court, which now I do not remember, but these were the principal, whereof the most part hath been since put to death by this my wickedness:

Bloody lies against many.

of whose souls I crave pardon, and of the rest that are alive, protesting that I devised all this of mere malice, and not of anything that I knew against them."

Article 12—Treasurer.

"What noblemen or women did Fortescue repair unto, and at what places, and how many do you know that he reconciled unto Rome at any time?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"Here I protest, as I hope to be saved, I could not truly accuse any nobleman or woman in this land, to whom Ballard did repair, and yet most falsely did I accuse the Earl of Arundel and the Countess his wife, with the Lord William Howard his brother and the Lady Margaret, the Lord Compton, the Lord Windsor, the Lord Stourton and his lady; adding further that I doubted not but that he reconciled divers, though I could not come to know their names."

["His repair unto noblemen was partly known and partly unknown. He had great concourse unto Burlace, my Lord of Arundel's secretary, but how he came to his person I could never tell. And since the Earl's apprehension and Fortescue's last coming home, it was himself that told me how that Gilbert Gifford came secretly in a night to the Countess at the Spital, brought letters and news from Gratley, messages to my lord, and that he should be put in comfort of his short delivery. With others, as with our Viscount and his wife, I heard him say he hath been often with them, but never known of them when he hath been. He was with the Lord Stourton and his wife at home at their house, with the Lord Windsor, with the Countess of Northumberland brought acquainted by Giles Green and Mrs. Bruton, her gentlewoman, with the Countess of Southampton, the young lady her daughter, with Matthew Arundell that hath married her. The Lord

Montague and his brethren. With Baron Clinch, as I take it, a Lancashire man, who, although I never heard Fortescue acknowledge his acquaintance, yet I know that he is reconciled, and by whom. With the Lords Harry and Thomas, and the Lady Margaret, with whom also Harry Dunne hath been so great, that they commending the man unto the Earl of Arundel, the Earl not knowing him, hath caused him to be brought to the Tower Hill, that he might see him but off the leads." *Orig.*]

Article 13—*Treasurer.*

"Who showed the secrets of Whitehall to Fortescue for killing the Queen, and who were in his company, and what speeches had he thereof?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"Here I feigned that Mr. Edward Windsor, with Charles Tilney, did spend a whole day in carrying Ballard up and down Whitehall for this purpose, and all being viewed, the garden or one of the galleries seemed the fittest place for the exploit: which, as I shall answer before God, was a mere fiction of my own, and never intended or spoken to my knowledge by any of them."

Article 14[1]—*Treasurer.*

"Remember more particular such plots as were propounded for mischief, as that to be done at the Star Chamber upon the lords, and by whom were they propounded, and at what places and times, and who were present thereat."

Answer—Tyrrell.

"To this article I answered very maliciously against Mr. Anthony Babington, now dead, though upon some small ground, as you shall hear; for that he coming one

[1] Tyrrell's memory or his notes were inaccurate here. In the original, the articles here numbered 14, 15, and 16 do not occur. The articles here numbered 17—28 are there numbered 14—25.

day to Mr. Ballard and me at our lodging, much discontented against his father-in-law, Mr. Henry Fuljambe, when he laboured to make friends, leaving at length Mr. Ballard, and coming to my chamber alone, cast out to me by way of discontentment against such as governed the State and corrupted justice, as he said certain words of anger; and after that again, half jesting and smiling, he said that if three or four of the Council were taken away, such as the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Treasurer, the Vice-Chamberlain, and the Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, all would be well quickly, adding further (as he was oftentimes vain and light in his speeches), that upon a Star Chamber day a few resolute gentlemen might despatch them all; and so smiling, broke off that speech, and at that time I took it but for a jest and light word of a young gentleman to his familiar friend, as he took me to be: but now most maliciously I made a most odious and heinous tale thereof, adding many false circumstances of my own invention, as that he should propound the matter seriously, and with intention to execute the same, and that he should propose it, first in my own chamber, and then again in Grays Inn Fields, in an evening, Ballard and Mr. Davy Ingleby being present, coining many other notorious lies and circumstances besides, all which I protest upon my salvation were most false."

Divers lies about a murder in the Star Chamber.

Article 15—*Treasurer.*

"Who should have been the persons that should have been the attempters of the act at the Star Chamber, when that should have been achieved for killing of the councillors? What should have followed thereupon concerning the Queen's person, and the Scottish Queen?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"Here, upon the false ground laid in the former article, I heaped up a whole mount of lies, for I said

that Babington had told me that a dozen well-appointed gentlemen, closely wrapped in coats of proof, might convey themselves into the Star Chamber, with each of them a couple of daggs [pistols] in their pockets, and discharging every man one of them upon the aforesaid councillors at a watchword given, and with the other make themselves way down again, having fifty or sixty tall serving-men beneath, with swords and bucklers to rescue them, and some hundred more to enter the Tower upon the sudden, killing the warders, and letting free the prisoners, and making the Earl of Arundel their captain, and turning the artillery of the Tower upon the city, and besieging the Queen, and proclaiming the Scottish Queen, and displaying a banner for all Catholics to come unto them. This tale I devised only of mine own head, to feed my Lord Treasurer's humour, as God is my Judge, and by the grossness thereof he might easily have descried me, but he received it gratefully, and thanked me for my pains; which pains was only in forging lies, God forgive me for it."

A long feigned tale.

Article 16—*Treasurer.*

"What device was there at any time propounded to have surprised London, the Tower, or any other place for money or wealth?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"This article is answered in the former, but yet being loth that any of my lord's demands should return empty, I devised many circumstances and particularities to the lies before set down."

Article 17—*Treasurer.*

"How often were Fortescue and Tilney at the French Ambassador's, and in what place did the French Ambassador then lodge, and where have yourself been in company with Charles Tilney, and who have been more

then present, and where was your chamber whereunto Charles Tilney or the Ambassador's secretary did repair, and how often came they thither, and when was the last time?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"This article I answered, partly telling truth, how I was once with Mr. Ballard at the French Ambassador's, for the causes that before I have recited, as also that his secretary was at my chamber, but I added divers false causes and feigned circumstances, as though all had been for treasonable practices, which before God was nothing so. I belied also Mr. Ballard and Tilney, saying that they had oftentimes repaired to the French Ambassador's; which I protest to be more than ever I did know."

Article 18—*Treasurer.*

"What time did Fortescue last go into France, and how many, as you think, were privy thereto, and what do you think was the cause and purpose of his journey, and whether was not Babington acquainted with him before his last going over?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"To this article I answered first, saying that Ballard's departing towards France was in Lent last this year of 1586, and that at the day of his departure, I and divers gentlemen dined with him at the King's Head, in Fish Street; which was true, though I remember not now whether I added any more names than were there present: but sure I am that I said maliciously, that I thought Babington and the rest to have sent him over to confer with the confederates in France, and to see whether anything would be done by foreign forces against England or not; and if not, then that their former designments for killing the Queen, should be put in execution presently."

Article 19—Treasurer.

"With how many did Fortescue confer in England after his last coming back from France? And do you set down their particular names."

Answer—Tyrrell.

"The answer of this is contained before in that I said to the 8th and 9th articles, as also the lie I made of Sir John Arundell, his sons and daughters, and divers others which now I do not remember, and I cry them all mercy," &c.

["The chiefest persons that he conferred withal before his going over were, with Babington, Davy Ingleby. They had sent a little before into the north C. Tilney, Jacques, Tipping, Dinnington, Henry Dunne, Thorogood, and the two Wisemen" (*sic*). *Orig.*]

Article 20—Treasurer.

"How many priests and Seminary men do you know to have been in England within this twelvemonths, and what were their names, and variety of surnames, and what counties do they haunt, and by whom are they relieved? How many of them are departed out of the realm, to your knowledge?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"I was very long and large in answering of this article, and did impeach and bewray so many of my dear brethren priests as any way I could call to memory, adding their names, surnames, relievers, the places and counties where they haunted; and to make the number seem more great, I feigned divers of myself that were not, so that all the injuries, vexations, and apprehensions that hereof ensued to them or their friends, is my fault, and I ask them all humbly forgiveness."

["For priests and Seminary men whom I know to be

in England, with their names and surnames, are Edmonds, *alias* Hunt, now prisoner, his being hath been in many places and with divers persons, but chiefly with Francis Browne. One Barnes. Cornelius, who goeth by that name, his being hath been most with Sir John Arundell, Mrs. Cresswell, widow, and is now in Oxford. Barloe,[1] *alias* Chester, that liveth about London, frequenteth Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and sometimes Wales, but mostwhat keepeth at Mrs. Mompesson's at Clerkenwell. Fenell, I know no other name, keepeth Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, sometimes London. He is most entertained, I think, by the Lady Copley, young Shelley, and I know not who else. Felps, *alias* Nicholas Smith, still resident with my Lady Copley. Gray,[2] I know no other name, most resident with Mrs. White of Westminster. Wynckfeld, *alias* Davies, who was dismissed the Counter, and not known to be P[riest], a politic, wise fellow, and had in great account: who be his chief maintainers and where he keepeth I know not. Ithell,[3] *alias* Woodhall, keepeth most about London, and relieved by the Inns of Court. This article would be so long if I should go through, that I shall crave pardon for this time of your honour. You shall have a scroll of all that I know at more leisure." *Orig.*]

[1] "Lewis Barlow, a Seminary priest, was in company with the Abingtons when they were sought for, and was privy of their conspiracy, and escaped from them the same day they were apprehended, and lived almost half a year amongst the outlaws in Monmouthshire, and did after great hurt about London until he was taken, and then was the causer of Mr. Tyrrell his revolt." Wisbech report (P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcix, n. 91).

[2] In the ninth chapter Tyrrell calls him Greene. He is probably John Greene (*supra*, p. 266), of whom the Wisbech report says, "John Greene, a Seminary priest, a very obstinate perverse man, and a traitorous seducer of her Majesty's subjects, and a great defender of the Pope's supremacy." Before being sent to Wisbech, he was in the Counter in Wood Street. *Supra*, p. 231.

[3] The Wisbech report says of him, "Ithell, *alias* Udall, a condemned priest for Babington's conspiracy. A most dangerous man, who corrupted many young gentlemen in the Inns of Court, and did practise with young Abington to say Mass in the Tower."

Article 21—Treasurer.

"In what place and company did Edward Windsor seem to mislike to have any woman dealt withal for poisoning of the Queen for fear of uttering?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"I answered that he dealt with me alone in this matter at my chamber at Lambert Street: but as I hope to be saved, he never at any time in all his life talked with me about any such matter, nor with any such person to my knowledge, and therefore on my knees I ask this innocent gentleman pardon."

Article 22—Treasurer.

"What have you heard of one Charnock concerning any of these actions?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"My answer to this was brief, and truest of any other, for I said plainly, I knew not the man, nor had anything to say of him."

["Of Charnock I never heard anything." *Orig.*]

Article 23—Treasurer.

"What were Fortescue his doings in Norfolk with Metham and Crathorne, with Babthorpe, Tipping, Dinnington, Crossland and his brother, in the north; what several times was he in these parts, and who kept him company in those voyages?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

Mischievous lies against many.

"I confess that upon this article I founded many unjust and mischievous lies against all these gentlemen named in this article, as though they should be privy to Ballard's treasons which I had feigned, and do call God to witness I never knew any; and moreover to my knowledge Ballard had

not seen Mr. Metham nor Crathorne in five years before. Young Mr. Babthorpe also I never knew, nor can tell that Ballard had ever speech with him, though I accused him bitterly; as for Mr. Tipping, Dinnington, and Crossland, I persuade myself they are as innocent in these things as the child new born, neither had they ever practice with us, or knew us to be priests; yet did I most wilfully accuse them, as also Mr. Davy Ingleby, whom I accused to be privy to the Star Chamber matter, for killing the lords, which before I have set down in the fourteenth and fifteenth articles, whereas I protest before God he was never to my knowledge privy thereof. I did accuse also two gentlemen named Wiseman of Essex, and one Mr. Thorogood of the Temple: all which was false, and of a mischievous mind only to hurt, for we never met with them but only at ordinary tables in London."

["Foscue was not with Metham or Craythorne in Norfolk of a long time. Then he meddled, I think, in none of these matters. Then his dealing with them hath been in Yorkshire within this twelvemonth, and so with Babthorpe, Crosslands, and Typping. In those voyages sometimes I did accompany himself, sometimes with Edward Windsor, sometimes with Wood, that was my Lord of York's man, and sometimes with others, I know not whom. His conversing with the Wiseman was at the Plough without Temple Bar, with Thurgood at his chamber in the Temple." *Orig.*]

Article 24—Treasurer.

"In what places was Fortescue conversant with the Lord Stourton and his wife, and at what times?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"Here, as I had falsely feigned before that Ballard had conversed with the Lord Stourton and his wife, so now being pressed to make up the tale, I added also that

it was at my lord's house in the country, a thing of my own inventing only."

Article 25—Treasurer.

"How often did you see Gilbert Gifford in England, and in whose company, and in what places, and by what means was his message sent to the Earl of Arundel; when was he with the Lady of Arundel, and in what place; what surnames had he, where did he lodge, with whom was he conversant, how long did he tarry in England? Do you know George Gifford of the Court, and how was he disposed in these actions? What, and of whom have you heard, that he was directed to kill the Queen?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"All these interrogatories of my lord as they were gathered out of my former lying letter written to him and fraught full with devices of my own, as before I have signified, so now they did bind me to go forward with the same, and to feign many particularities for probability thereof; as that Gilbert Gifford should be sent over with a message from the Duke of Guise to the Earl of Arundel, willing him to be of good cheer, for that he hoped to come and visit him before it were long, and that the said Gilbert went in a coach to speak with the Lady Countess of Arundel at the Spital. I accused also Mr. George Gifford to have spoken dangerous words against the Queen and State upon discontentment; that he was a principal man with Ballard in all his treasons: all which I protest to have been most false, and of my own inventing only."

One lie bindeth a man to make two.

["For Gilbert Gifford I never saw him but once, and that in Holborn. I spake not to him then. How he was brought in to my lady I know not, but I heard very secretly. How the message was sent in to the Earl I cannot certainly set down. When Gilbert was also last

with my lady I am not able to say, nor where he lodged. I never inquired as yet of the variety of his names; and as for his tarriance out of England, he is not gone yet for aught that I know, for within these eight weeks he was sure in the realm. For George Gifford I know not the man, but Foscue brought him a message from his brother, and was to persuade him to forsake his allegiance to the Queen, and to fall into some enterprise among them. Foscue said that he hoped by that man to work much, but what I cannot tell, your honour may easily guess." *Orig.*]

Article 26—*Treasurer.*

"What sums of money had Gratley from the Earl of Arundel, and by what means, and when did you see Bailey last, that attended on the Countess? When were you or Fortescue with the Countess, and in what place?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"Here I answered most falsely as in the rest, affirming that Gratley had received divers sums of money from the Earl, and carried letters from him to Dr. Allen, promising his coming over, and to join willingly with the Duke of Guise in setting up the Queen of Scots; how Dr. Allen rejoiced to write thereof to the Duke: all which was feigned by myself. Moreover, I said that Ballard and I being one day at Romford, in the inn of the Crown, one Burlacy should come to us there, which was true, and bring us a hundred pounds from the Earl, which was a stark lie; I said also that the aforesaid Bailey was placed with the Countess by Gratley; which was a mere fiction: and whereas I said that Ballard had been often to speak with the said Countess, I dare protest before God she never spoke with him in all her life, for if she had I am sure that he would have told me of it, which in truth he never did."

His lies against the Earl and Countess of Arundel.

["For sums of money Gratley had *Franche carte*, and

by his means at one time a 100*l.*, at another time 50*l.* The first Fortescue brought word of the receipt; of the other Baily carried it over. He was at my chamber where I lay at Temple Bar in May last, and I did see him again in June. I was never with the Countess but once, a great while since, when she lay at Weld Hall, in Essex. Where Fortescue was with her I cannot truly tell." *Orig.*]

Article 27—Treasurer.

"I pray declare the circumstances of your journey, when you and Father Edmonds spake with Mr. Bold, and when and where you spake last with him, and in whose companies. What manner of speeches did Bold utter against the Earl of Leicester?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"To this article I did feign much malicious matter of mine own invention, against this good gentleman, who I protest was innocent of the same; for as touching our going to his house in Berkshire (I mean F. Edmonds and mine), it was by the entreaty of one Mr. Edmund Peckham, to see a certain gentlewoman that was near of kin to Mr. Bold, and dearly beloved by him, and was suspected to be possessed; but when Father Edmonds in our presence had talked with her, he judged that there was no such matter, and therefore exhorting both her, and Mr. Bold and his wife to patience, and to procure good men's prayers for her recovery, he departed presently; and albeit Mr. Bold of courtesy came with us to London, yet do not I know that he understood what we were: but sure I am that he was utterly innocent of all those vile slanders which I devised as spoken by him against the Earl of Leicester, and of all the other slanders that I made against him; and yet was the gentleman apprehended and straitly examined, and my Lord Treasurer sent his answers unto me to see what I could

Lies against Mr. Bold.

pick out against them, and I stretched my wits what I could to do him hurt, but I could not, whereof I most humbly ask him forgiveness."[1]

Article 28—*Treasurer.*

"Where did you know Jacques, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's man, and what do you know of him, meet to be understood?"

Answer—Tyrrell.

"Here I heaped many false accusations against Mr. Jacques, and his servant William Warmford,[2] affirming the first to be a heinous traitor, a principal confederate with Ballard, intending to stir up a great rebellion in Ireland, his man also to be an egregious traitor, and privy to many things, and retained by him and Ballard to execute some great mischief: whereas I protest before God upon my salvation, that I never knew any one point of disloyalty in either of them both, and therefore I ask them both most heartily forgiveness, and all the rest by me injured or offended.[3]

"And thus God knoweth, and the world perceiveth, how traitorously I have behaved myself towards God, slandering the just, condemning the innocent, and thereby heaping up God's heavy judgments upon my own head, for which I ask His Divine Majesty and all the world pardon; and of my Lord Treasurer in particular, whom I have abused by so many false informations, to the undoing and condemning of divers innocent persons; and most of all of her Majesty, into whose head I have put so many horrible false conceits of treason against her

The conclusion.

[1] The answer to this article has been already given from the original, *Supra*, p. 140.

[2] In the original the name of William Warmford does not occur. This man must not be mistaken for Father William Warnford or Warford, who entered the English College at Rome in 1583, and in 1588 was living with Cardinal Allen.

[3] In the margin of this article Burghley has written, "Jacques the Italian."

loving subjects: for all which I am most heartily sorry, and further am content to receive all manner of punishment in this life, so my miserable soul may find mercy and favour in the world to come."

CHAPTER VIII.

WHAT COURSE HE HELD AFTER THE GIVING UP OF THE AFORESAID ACCUSATIONS, OF HIS IMPIOUS WRITING TO THE QUEEN, AND TALK WITH THE TREASURER, AND HOW HE PROCURED TO CHANGE PRISON FROM THE COUNTER TO THE CLINK, TO DO MORE HURT.

HE having given up the false, conscienceless accusations before mentioned, by which he well knew that divers should lose their lives, he writeth these words in his confession. "I cannot express what a hell and torment I found in my own conscience, the devil fully possessing me." Moreover he saith that he, growing into suspicion with the Catholics of the Counter by his often repair to Justice Young and to the Treasurer, and by his much writing, he desired to be changed to another prison, where he should not be known, holding still his wicked mind to proceed in the way already begun, which shall be here delivered by his own words, which be these.

Torment of conscience.

"After that my malice was thus complete, and my mind determined to run desperately into sin (he must needs run swift whom the devil driveth), I devised all the means possible that I could to make my Lord Treasurer and Justice Young to think that the name of a Catholic was most odious unto me, and how that I desired nothing more than to be discharged from their

servitude. I framed now invectives against Catholics to my lord, affirming that to my own knowledge there were few or none that in their inward hearts and affections were not traitors, and that I assured his honour that there were few priests in England, howsoever outwardly in words they dissembled, but inwardly in their hearts they assented to her Majesty's spoil and destruction, and did not let, as they did find the humours of her subjects inclinable that way, to persuade them all that they might thereunto, and that all their endeavours henceforth should be to remove the minds of her Majesty's subjects, and to settle their affection for the establishment of the Scottish Queen, against whom I made most sharp and bitter invectives, especially in a letter which I did write to the Queen's Majesty, wherein I principally warned her Highness to have a special regard unto three things.

Abominable and bloody suggestions to a prince.

Three malicious points.

"The first, to extirpate and weed out all Seminary priests with all the speed and means possible that might be, as men most pernicious and dangerous to her Majesty and to the State, who went about no other thing in all places wheresoever they came but to bring her Majesty in contempt, and to persuade her subjects that no act were so pleasant and acceptable unto God as to bereave her Majesty of her life.

"The second was, that her Majesty's only danger was the life of that wicked woman the Queen of Scots, who sought by all means she could, not only by foreign powers, but by domestic attempts, to shorten and end her Majesty's days that she herself might be advanced to the Crown.

"The third point was, that her Majesty had now crushed the necks of the conspirators by apprehending so many of them, and that she had her enemies now at such advantage, as well at home as abroad, that she should not let to prosecute the same, and to make such laws

against recusants that every one should be sworn to withstand the Pope and his proceedings against the realm, or otherwise to account of him no better than an arrant traitor.

Recalling of my former wicked suggestion.

"O mind, fraught full of malice, what cause had I to write thus, either against Pope, priest, Queen of Scots, Catholic, or other? From

The Pope.

Pope I never heard hurt or harm against our Queen or country; I have seen him shed tears, and have heard him wish that all the blood in his body were spilt to do our country good. For Catholic priests, I protest on

Priests.

my soul, that since the time I have conversed with them myself in England, which is now more than six years, I never heard of any of them but that he wished as well to her Majesty as to his own soul, and would willingly bestow his own life, to the loss of the uttermost drop of his blood, for the preservation and safety of her Majesty, and that in all their sermons and exhortations, as well public as private, they persuade her subjects to all obedience, and to pray for her Majesty, as also to suffer the infliction of her penal laws with all patience, and not to resist or move sedition for any cause whatsoever. This is all I know of all priests, I protest before Almighty God, and no other, wherefore I most deeply have slandered them, and am on my knees to ask them pardon and forgiveness.

"As for the Queen of Scots, whom I have many ways

Queen of Scots innocent of my accusations.

deeply and maliciously touched, as I shall answer before God at the latter day, when I shall give an account of these my doings, I was never acquainted with the woman, neither do I know anything directly of her nature or disposition. I never heard of any treasonable practice that she should attempt with any of her Majesty's subjects for the destroying of her real [royal] person and annoying of her realm, more than I have heard by the public edicts set out in England against her,

which how true or false they were, it is not in me to determine. I will therefore neither accuse nor excuse her further than appertaineth to my own particular malice, wherein I cannot but acknowledge myself most deeply to have slandered her, and that all that ever I did speak to hurt or harm her, was only of mere malice, with intention to flatter the Queen, no one word being true to my knowledge thereof, and therefore I crave most humble pardon of her soul, which I hope be in heaven, and what cause or occasion I did give to her destruction I know not, but I fear it was too great.

"Not long afterwards I was desirous to speak with my Lord Treasurer again, for now I had desperately endangered myself in opening such matters, as the least of them might have cost me my life for concealing them, if either they had been true, or I a man in whom any crime of treason might stick as now it could not. But that they were so notoriously false also, as they might have easily been discovered by my lord's wit, I could not tell how his honour would take them; misdoubting that he would at least suspect me to have feigned much, and therefore I was desirous (to the end I might come to the knowledge thereof), to devise by all the cunning I could to relieve myself to his lordship of all suspicion. For now I must let all the world understand that I was become a man void of all grace, goodness, truth, honesty, faith, or religion, one that cared not what Catholics should think of me through all the States of Christendom, so as I might gain either favour or credit of our Protestants at home; and therefore I made no space of my conscience to enlarge it out to anything, were it true or false, so it might be to the benefit of my temporal preferment, for all hope of God's favour, or recovering of my portion in His heavenly kingdom, was clean extinguished and gone. My full meaning and purpose was still to persevere in this mind, and never

The virtues that brought me to be a Protestant.

to turn back again, and therefore I had not cared how soon I had been brought forth to the open show of the world, and loudly to have exclaimed against Catholics and Catholic religion, but that my lord as it seemed thought it policy otherwise, or God would not permit it, meaning by His mercy yet to call me back again to repentance. Desirous, therefore, as I said, to see my Lord Treasurer, after that I had made so large detection, and inventing every day in my chamber, and putting more lies to the forge, that I might have something to present my lord with against my next coming, amongst the rest I remembered this notorious falsehood for one, to wit—That I feigned a great and solemn meeting to have been at Paris when Ballard was last in France, between English and Scots, and that the Bishop of Ross should make a solemn oration at that meeting, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Lord Dacres, and others being present, declaring the preparation of all Catholic princes that would be shortly in readiness to invade England, and that the English for their parts, and the Scots for theirs, should endeavour to make away with the Queen of England, and set up the Queen of Scots, and that for preparation of this, Ballard was appointed and sent into England: all which I protest to have been most false and untrue, and every word of my own inventing.

My new spirit was never unoccupied.

A notorious lie.

"I framed also complaints against Sir Thomas Gerard, knight, how he should from time to time send intelligence to the King of Spain of the practices and devices of England, and how they might be prevented. I framed also a device against a number of gentlemen Catholics in the county of Lancashire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and other confines (though to my remembrance I named them not) for their meetings to remove the Scottish Queen, and others to defend her by force, or else to convey her out of the realm, and many

Sir Thomas Gerard and others I slandered.

other things of which my memory now serveth me not to make a particular mention. All which I had briefly set down in notes[1] to gratify my lord withal against my next meeting: and it came to pass that in few days after

My tutor, Justice Young, instructeth me to more malice.

that Justice Young sent for me to repair with him unto my lord, who, by the way, gave me matter to inform my lord of, against my Lord Windsor, as touching his marriage, also against the Lord Compton and others willing me to say, that they were very dangerous men, and against some of the Privy Chamber, also he gave me notes of others whose names in truth I have now forgotten; and thus my lesson being given me (which God knoweth needed not, for I was too forward a scholar of myself in lying and inveighing against any man), at last we arrived, and I came to my lord, where he lay then in the Strand, where I being led

My second coming to my Lord Treasurer.

up by a back way into a chamber where my lord was perusing of writings, I was brought in, and after my duty yielded, my lord entered into familiar communication with me of many things, saying that I had taken a great deal of pains (indeed I had taken a great deal of pains to go to the devil) and that he perceived my dealing to be without any dissimulation. No fault he seemed to find at all with any of my former informations as deeming any of them to be untruths, though in reason he could not but suspect them; only he said that many of my sayings were very general,

He would still have more.

asking me if I could not set them down more particular. But I answered that I had set them down according to my knowledge, and that as touching the privy and important matters, they were always so warily handled of the Catholics that I

[1] *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xix. n. 81, endorsed by Burghley, "3 Sept., 1586, Anthony Tyrrell's 4th declaration." It is a little book of twelve pages, neatly written, and in this respect very unlike the preceding papers. The "third confession" (*ibid.* n. 76), from which an extract is given in the next chapter, is dated September 2.

could get no further notice of things than I had done, and what I had commonly from one man, I could not get the same again confirmed of another; which I added for excusing the lack of witnesses when I could have none (the matters being false) but the devil himself that helped to devise them. Then my lord asked me many other questions, whereof some I answered, and some I said I was ignorant of. He told me of many things himself that he had found out against the conspirators, and against the Queen of Scots, whereof some they had confessed, and some they seemed to deny; and I was very glad when I heard him say so, hoping thereby that my own reports against them would carry the more credit with him.

"Although he told me that he would inform her Majesty of my well-doing, and so with favour dismissed me for that time, and of any other matter important I do not remember more, but then that I did present him with my former notes. He asked Justice Young how I was used. He answered, 'Well,' only he said that for colour sake to blind the Catholics I was kept close prisoner, an if I were reputed for a very dangerous man; and withal Justice Young told my lord how comfortably I proceeded in my damnable course that I had then taken in hand, and how that he had lent me a book. Whereupon my lord asking me what book it was, I told him that it was Mr. Calvin's *Institutions*, a learned piece of work in my conceit (but in truth I never had read a more beastly piece of work in all my life). 'No,' quoth my lord, 'that is not, Tyrrell, for thy appetite, I would have thee to read Blusius,' willing Justice Young to provide me that book; but I never did see that heretic yet, and I hope never to be troubled with him hereafter, for sure I was in my own conscience, that neither Calvin, Blusius, nor all the heretics in the world

How Catholics are abused by dissimulation.

My lord rejecteth Calvin, and commendeth to me Blusius.

I was sure for my part they were knaves both.

could convince my knowledge, or plant any other religion, that I could effectually embrace, but only the Catholic. 'As well my lord might have persuaded me to have read the Alcoran to become a Turk, and as soon I should have assented, as to have been in heart any of these heretics. And thus departed I again from the Treasurer, and went back with Justice Young again home to his house, where he and I fell to new conferences, and I gave him advisements how to order and handle things for the better conservation of my credit among Catholics, and for the finding out of greater matters and accusations against them." Thus far Tyrrell's words.

And this was the holy agreement between Justice Young and him, for which cause he was sent to be prisoner in the Clink, where meeting, as he saith, with a most blessed man and godly priest named Lowe, who had heard many great suspicions of Tyrrell's doings. He said Mr. Lowe began after some hours being together to utter them, and to require satisfaction at his hands, who gave it by swearing and forswearing, 'and more than that, went to confession hypocritically to the said Mr. Lowe, the more to deceive him, and in his confession, being pressed much by his said ghostly father upon his salvation and damnation to deal plainly and sincerely, he did quite the contrary, and with the same sacrilege he said Mass the next day within the prison, the more thereby to deceive Catholics: after which narration ended, he saith thus of himself. "The dreadful threat of damnation uttered by the holy Apostle St. Paul to him that received the Body of his Saviour unworthily, and the example of Judas that hanged himself and went to hell upon the like fault, might have warned and terrified me, but it did not. And behold the boldness of a desperate mind, although the horror of God's justice made me inwardly to quake; although I feared that I should presently have perished in my great impiety, yet

His meeting with Mr. Lowe in prison.

forward I went, so far was my malice increased, so much was my desperate mind emboldened, that though I went without all semblance of staggering or dismay no doubt the heavens with all the celestial powers were amazed at my heinous enterprise, the earth, with the infernal parts, wondered at my boldness, and were most greedy of revenge upon so loose and vile a wretch, that did rage against the majesty of so great a God, and yet His endless patience did endure it."

[Tyrrell was moved from the Counter in Wood Street on the 13th of September, 1586, and on the 17th he was committed to the Clink.[1] The following letter[2] from Secretary Davison, dated October 4, was therefore written after the interviews in the preceding chapter. The journey which Lord Burghley was about to undertake, of which Davison speaks, was to Fotheringay for the trial of the Queen of Scots, respecting the terms of whose indictment Elizabeth here gives her Minister some instructions. A similar letter written to Walsingham drew from him the following comment[3] addressed to Burghley. "I find by Mr. Secretary Davison that her Majesty doth not rest satisfied with the form of commission drawn by her learned counsel with the advice of the judges, in the point of the Scottish Queen's title. I would to God her Majesty would consent to refer these things to them that are best judges of them, as other princes do."

"My especial good Lord,—I have received two letters of your lordship addressed to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, with another to myself concerning Tyrrell, accompanied with another of his own to your lordship, all which I did communicate with her Majesty, who is very well

[1] *Supra*, pp. 179, 204.

[2] P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xx. n. 2.

[3] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxciv. n. 14; dated Barnelms, Oct. 6, 1586; holograph.

pleased that the Commission should be reformed in such sort as your lordship by advice of the judges hath directed, though she think the words of the statute did not necessarily exact the adding of Mr. Woolley's name and my own. For the style to be given to the Sc[ottish] Q[ueen], her Majesty doth very well allow that the words *communiter vocata*, or, *appellata Regina Scotorum*, mentioned in your lordship's letters, be also inserted if you find it material, as also that the Commission be drawn and sent there for prorogation of Parliament according to the precedent in *anno primo* of her Majesty's reign touched in your said letters. The day she could be content to be the 24th, if it be not too short for the return of my lords, which she doubteth can hardly be so soon; and therefore could wish rather it were stretched some few days longer, which notwithstanding she commits to your lordship's judgment.

"The letter from Tyrrell was very agreeable to her, both for the style and affection of the man, which she greatly commendeth, allowing your lordship and Mr. Secretary to take what course with him you shall think fittest for her service.

"Other matter I have not presently, but to pray God to bless this journey of your lordship's with such happy issue as may be most to His glory, the security of her Majesty, and peace of this commonwealth.

"At the Court at Windsor, this 4th of October, 1586.

"Your lordship's most humbly at commandment,

"W[ILLIAM] D[AVISON]."

Endorsed—"4th of October, 1586. Minute to my L. Treasurer."]

CHAPTER IX.

OF HIS DISSIMULATION, TREACHERY, AND SPIERY IN THE CLINK, AND JUSTICE YOUNG HIS DISPENSATION FOR THE SAME, AND WHAT PERSONS HE BETRAYED THERE, AND OF THE DEATH OF MR. BALLARD AND HIS FELLOWS.

As the principal and only cause of Tyrrell's sending to the Clink was to betray priests and Catholics that were there, or that frequented thither, as hath appeared by that which before hath been said, so he having given them satisfaction and deceived them by means especially of his ghostly father, Mr. Lowe, and other priests to whom he had in confession forsworn himself, he saith that his whole study was to give advertisements from time to time to Justice Young and to the Treasurer against his brethren and fellows, with whom he lived, which you shall hear recounted, as all the rest, in his own words that ensue.

"This passed on, and I every day began to be more bold than other, and had well near worn out all former suspicions, and had seen and learned the whole state of the house in everything, when Justice Young sent for me again, to inquire of the place, of the persons, of their practices, and what good there was likely to be done. 'O sir,' quoth I, 'I thought myself very hardly beset with Papists when I was in the Counter, and thought myself troubled with one priest, Dryland,[1] but now I am fallen

[1] If there was but one priest with Tyrrell in the Counter, the number there soon increased when he became informer. A list in which he is mentioned as still in the Clink (*supra*, p. 234), gives the following names.

"*Counter in Wood Street.*

Christopher Dryland.	Christopher Southworth.
Thomas Smyth.	John Cabell.
John Strawbridge.	Edward Braddock.
Nicholas Gellebrand.	Thomas Swynnerton, *alias* Strangwayes.
	John Maddox."

(P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccii. n. 61.)

This speech is used when devils talk together.

into hell mouth itself' (this speech you must imagine to be used when devils talk together), 'for now I cannot turn any way for Popish priests. Such Masses, such confessions, such trumperies' (so devilishly did I then term them), 'such concourse of comers, such goers, as you would wonder to hear it, and verily,' quoth I, 'unless I should dissemble in the highest degree, there can be no long tarrying for me there.' 'Dissemble,' quoth Justice Young, 'marry, what else, Mr. Tyrrell? Dissemble, and spare not, remember always the cause wherefore and why you do it. You can do God no better service than in hunting and deciphering out traitors; and as for their works of abomination that you are forced to exercise, remember always the example of Naaman Syrus, that when you are in the midst of all idolatry, as hearing or saying of Mass, lift up your heart to the only Lord of Israel although you suffer your knees to bow before this wicked Baal.'

This was his spiritual counsel to me his young convertite.

Justice Young's counsel.

"Such were his abominable persuasions, such were his damnable counsels, scarce beseeming a Turk or infidel, much less one that beareth the name of a Christian, and one that professeth a new Gospel, one that laboureth to reduce, as he saith, strayed sheep home to their fold, and to help souls fallen into damnable state to recover again the way of salvation; but in truth there is no such matter, nor any such inclination in him and his like, nor religion nor piety at all, no wholesome or godly persuasion shall you ever hear at their mouths, but rather wickedness, deceit, and dissimulation; yea, and what dissimulation? Such, truly, as themselves protest to take and account for supreme abomination, which they make high treason by the laws, to wit, to say Masses, to hear Masses, to reconcile to the Church of Rome, and the like; whereunto Justice Young persuading me, I see not why he committed not treason, and deserved not to be hanged more than any other: but

nothing is cared for or respected, so that their turns may be served against the Catholics, let body and soul run headlong to the devil. And these be the comforts that a man shall have that will admit himself into their congregation. God deliver all good minds from entering into such friendships; but my mind then was not so well inclined, although I was not so blind but that I could easily perceive the course and comforts of their religion, yet I would not behold the deformities thereof, but was content to be hail fellow well met, and to go to the devil with them for company. God be merciful unto me for it.

"But to proceed. When Justice Young had ended his wholesome counsel, 'O sir,' quoth I, 'but what if I, having made a vow to relinquish their abominable religion, both to God and my Lord Treasurer, what and if it should chance that I should be taken at Mass again?' 'Why,' quoth he, 'if you should, we would dispense with you; we would not think ever the worse of you; we would make a certain outward show of displeasure, and so seem to trouble you, but we would soon bring you into your former good terms again.' 'Dispense,' thought I, 'from whom received he that authority? Surely,' I imagined, 'from the devil himself.' But I thought his dispensation good enough for my case and condition, and so smiled in my sleeve, and went on telling him (as little devils are wont to do to Lucifer when they have been abroad to work knavery) such matters as I had found in the Clink. I told him of the number of priests, of their daily saying Mass, their several places and chambers, all their orders, doings, times, and hours, as also all their conveyances that they had for conveying away their Church stuff.

Justice Young: his dispensation.

"And thus I betrayed all the house at the very first, and, moreover, discovered from time to time all the comers and goers thither, the causes of their coming, and to whom they came as near as

My discovery to Justice Young of the Clink.

I could learn. I told him that it was the only place to get good intelligences, and therefore he must keep secret and let it alone, and not meddle with it until such time as I were despatched and gone from thence, and that so I doubted not but within a short time I should come to the knowledge there of great things. He seemed very glad of my speeches, and promised me not to meddle in that place until I should be free from all suspicion.

Such a servant the devil had not gotten of many years.

"He inquired of me if I could get no matter against Father Edmonds that was prisoner there (for the better a man is, and more holy, the more spited he is, and undermined by the devil and his servants). I told him that in time I was very like to get somewhat, but as yet I durst not be too bold because of his close keeping. I discovered notwithstanding to him the means that Catholics had made to write unto him, and who were the greatest dealers with him, and promised further that I would take an occasion to write unto him touching Mr. Bold's matter, and procure by all the means I could to have his answer. Justice Young liked very well of my device, and gave me great thanks and many sweet words, and so I came to the Clink again, and being returned, Mr. Lowe and the rest of my brethren priests were desirous to know the cause of my sending for; and to be short, I answered every one smoothly, and won myself from all suspicion, imputing all to the malice of Young, and that his troublesome head could not let me alone. Howbeit I did forthwith write to him a letter back again, advertising him that he must send for me very sparingly, and that upon colourable causes, and for some others also, as well as for me, the which advice he observed, and sent so long, now for me, and now for another, as he sent two of the most worthy priests of all the house shortly after to the gallows, of whom I shall speak more anon; and all this to

Young's appetite to entrap Father Edmonds *alias* Weston.

I had now taken degree of cosening.

Notable knavery.

colour my sending for, but sometimes he came himself to the Clink, with other commissioners, to examine certain gentlemen upon causes; and politicly, as he termed it, he would take an occasion to speak of me, what a dangerous fellow I was, and a man in whom he neither found grace nor goodness, wherein he said most truly, albeit he intended it otherwise."

Thus writeth Tyrrell of Justice Young, and his own deceitful manner of dealing, and of their complots together to ruinate innocent men; and after this he showed a multitude of innocent and good people betrayed by him, as Mr. Smith,[1] the priest in the Lady Copley's house; Mr. Green,[2] in the house of Mrs. White, which gentlewoman afterwards was condemned to death for receiving so good a guest, and after all this he saith thus.

Many men betrayed by me.

"I caused great stirs to be made in Suffolk and Norfolk; Mr. Suliard his house to be searched, and Mr. Drury's of Losell; I betrayed Mr. Braddock,[3] priest, that was resident at Hull, and caused him to be apprehended and imprisoned, as also Mr. Gelibrand;[4] and finally, I detected as many places in those counties as I did know, especially where I knew that any priests frequented; for few I spared that either one way or other I did not touch: to report their names it were but over long and tedious. Let every one know that I have most grievously offended me, especially my dearest friends, to whom I was most beholden; but I that was become false and cruel unto God Himself, how could I be sparing unto any man? And therefore, leaving to make any mention of any particular person further than the cause of his parti-

[1] Nicholas Phipps, *alias* Smith, was committed September 19, 1586. *Supra*, p. 179.

[2] The name is given as Gray, *supra*, p. 385.

[3] He was in the Counter in Wood Street (*supra*, pp. 231, 402), and at Wisbech with Father Weston (*supra*, p. 266).

[4] Nicholas Gellebrand was committed October 9, 1586. *Supra*, p. 179.

cular hurt requireth, let it suffice that I spared no county, person, or place, that was within the compass of my knowledge, and I was not ignorant of a few, I did set down all their names and dwelling-places, and made of them three catalogues, whereof one I sent to the Queen, another I gave to my Lord Treasurer, and Justice Young hath the third.

Three wicked catalogues.

"After that I had betrayed Mr. Smith and these persons that I have mentioned, I began to hunt at Father Edmonds, who, like an innocent lamb, never suspected that such a ravening wolf had been so near him, especially when I seemed to be covered with a lamb's skin; of whom, because I am now entered to talk, I think it not amiss if I confess in what manner before I had bitten him at my being with my Lord Treasurer, where, talking with him of this man, I told him that he and I did ride together to Mr. Bold's of Lancashire, what a dangerous man he was, how earnestly he had persuaded Mr. Bold to be reconciled to the See of Rome; whereas of truth I knew no such matter, yet said I that he preached at his house, and had done much hurt, which I protest was only spoken of malice, without all truth. Also that he was a great man with Mr. Francis Browne, and a secret dealer with divers noblemen, and that he was a man very secret and politic, and therefore to be looked unto, and to be taken heed of; wherein I did but show my devilish nature, to speak the worst of the best, and the best of the worst, for all my speeches were but invectives of spite, not having, in truth, any just matter, although I desired to accuse him. My lord then asked my opinion what I did think of the man's learning. I told my lord that if his honour would follow my counsel, he should never be permitted to make any public appearance, or to be disputed withal, for that he had such a pestilent wit and deceitful utterance, that he would do more hurt than his adversaries should be able to

Injuries done to Father Edmonds, the Jesuit.

I knew the devil, fearful of the learned.

do any good: and thus much of my speeches of Father Edmonds before my coming to the Clink."

[In his "third confession,"[1] Tyrrell wrote thus to Lord Burghley respecting Father Weston and Father Cornelius. "Letters were sent sundry times and many to Edmonds, Jesuit, by Persons and others, received by Anthony Medcalfe, dealer for Persons, Birkett and Gratley, which informed how matters proceeded from them, and to inquire advertisement from us. He advertised that things had been ended a long while since, but there was such strife among our own nation who should be chief actor in the cause that almost they had marred all. The taking of the Earl of Arundel was their wonderful loss, for if he had come over safely, he had ended the quarrel.

"Francis Browne and his brother were altogether governed by Edmonds and Cornelius. They have been by their means conveyed to sundry noblemen. Their practice and dealings have been most secret, as likely to be most perilous. I have heard Edmonds tell me that he hath said Mass before the Lord Compton and others of the Court, preached, and was well rewarded for his pains.

"Cornelius was thought the fittest man for to preach before ladies and gentlemen, both for his sweet and plausible tongue and for that he could best counterfeit simplicity. It was laboured that one lady should inform another, and get him made famous to some of her Majesty's Privy Chamber, that so soon as any of them could be catched to affect our religion, that then some of us that could court it should be brought familiar amongst them, and by corrupting such as should be near her Majesty, we might have better means to practise any further treachery."]

"But after my coming thither [the Clink], as I said, I had a continual longing to get somewhat from this innocent

[1] P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xix. n. 76; dated Sept. 2, 1586.

man, wherewith I might hurt or despatch him; not for any particular malice or spite that I did bear to him, but of a devilish instigation to please the humours of his enemies; and first I did write to him a letter of my own, lying in the same prison, wherein I informed him of many things as touching Mr. Bold, himself, and me, which letter he answered with such charity and wisdom as commonly he did all other things else, that I could take no hold or advantage against him: howbeit such as it was, at my next coming I showed it to Justice Young. I observed that the chief dealer with Father Edmonds was a good priest named Mr. Lowe, and how that Mr. Lowe did write him many letters, as occasion served, about his necessary business, and received answers, which things I perverted always in evil part to Justice Young, reporting what posting of letters there was to and fro, which no doubt but imported greatly the State; and so I think verily they did import the state of the whole house, how the poor prisoners might find money to pay for their commons, to get relief to preserve themselves from famine, hunger, and cold: other State matters I protest I knew none, to be treated by them. I would, besides that, be always prying in Mr. Lowe, his chamber, among his papers, to pick out what I could find that might concern Father Edmonds' overthrow, and with much ado I found at the last but only two writings of his own hand; the one concerned an answer that a Catholic might make to the Oath of Supremacy if it were tendered to him, and the other was of matter that now I remember not, but sure I am that they could not hurt or prejudice the least hair of his head for any harm that was contained in them, yet the one I sent to my Lord Treasurer, and the other I did give to Justice Young, inveighing, notwithstanding, still against the man, according to the abundance of my malicious humour, not given to speak well of any good man. I informed withal that the said Father Edmonds did send

Of Mr. Lowe, a blessed man.

many letters abroad, notwithstanding his close imprisonment, which would be very dangerous, and breed great mischief, if it were not remedied; all which truly I did but imagine, and speak according to the malice wherewith my mind was possessed at that time.

"About this time that I was a practising of these matters in the Clink, came the time of the arraignment of Mr. Ballard and his company in Westminster, and as the same Ballard with his company were coming from Westminster that very day, when they had received the sentence of death and judgment, and were returning back again to the Tower, it was my hap to be upon the Thames in a boat, together with my keeper's man, going to Justice Young, and by the way it was my hap to meet the barge that carried the prisoners, and to come so near it that I looked Mr. Ballard full in the face, and he earnestly beheld me, but, good Lord! how I was confounded to behold the man, knowing the abominable slanders I had given out of him, and not knowing what torment he had sustained[1] by reason of my horrible accusations, and whether that his death was any the more hastened through my means, and whether any of the rest were unjustly made away and condemned through my false accusations; for certain I was I had very falsely accused them, and that very unjustly upon my accusations they might have been made away and condemned: and howsoever otherwise they might offend her Majesty or her laws, God, He knoweth; but sure I am that I accused so many most falsely, and that of no small matters, as before I have set down, God forgive me for it, and of all their souls I ask most humble pardon."

My meeting with Mr. Ballard, together with his company, condemned.

1 "This day a servant of Anthony Fortescue's came from London with report of the arraignment, and that Ballard the priest hath been so racked as he was carried to the bar and arraigned in a chair." Secret Advertisements to Walsingham, September 16, 1586. P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xix. n. 103.

CHAPTER X.

HOW HE BROUGHT TO THEIR ENDS THREE OTHER GODLY PRIESTS, NAMED MR. LOWE, ADAMS, AND DIBDALE, AND OF THE MATTER OF EXORCISMS PRACTISED IN PECKHAM PLACE.

BALLARD and his company being dispatched of their lives, and that particularly upon this man's false accusations as you have heard himself recount, and no matter of moment to be picked against Father Edmonds the Jesuit to make him away, Justice Young counselled with Tyrrell of sending some other to the gallows, wherein Tyrrell willingly gave his helping hand, as by his own narrative that followeth you shall perceive.

"Within few days after these former proceedings," saith he, "was the time come that there should be a sessions at Newgate, at which time commonly they miss not to bring some good man or other to his trial, and Justice Young, who of all others is a man most busy to send good men to God, although their happiness so far forth be far against his wicked meaning, yet not containing his malice to cut them off from their temporal lives, he would be informed of me what man I thought in the Clink to be most dangerous; and then before Almighty God and the world I accuse myself of impeaching Mr. Lowe, especially, and as I think, Mr. Adams, as two of the greatest meddlers and the one of them to have been before a banished man,[1] and consequently to be more obnoxious to the law, and the other to be one that did much hurt both abroad and within the house, what resolute Papists they both were, how

Mr. Lowe and Mr. Adams falsely impeached unto death by me.

[1] John Adams was banished in 1585. *Supra*, p. 72.

full of lewd practices, for disturbers of the commonwealth in gaining of her Majesty's subjects unto the See of Rome, with such other invectives as were very likely to speed them.

"He asked me moreover, what I thought of Dibdale, and of his exorcisms. I answered that he was a great hypocrite, and a great deluder of the world, with those matters of sorcery and witchcraft, and those lewd actions, as then I termed them, had done much harm, whereof I said he was the first author. And now because I am entered into these matters of exorcisms, although in the beginning[1] I have already somewhat touched them, yet can I not pass them over but that somewhat I must say in this place to manifest unto the world how directly I did speak against my own knowledge and conscience, and how innocently Mr. Dibdale did suffer death, being wonderfully slandered by me and Justice Young, as if these things had been matters only by him invented, and plain illusions, and that the assembling together of these companies to Catholic exorcisms had been to play the naughty packs, or to some other ungodly end.

My accusations and dispatch of Mr. Dibdale.

"A wonder sure it is, good Christian reader, to see how far the malice of a wretched sinner may extend, and I do now vehemently wonder at myself that ever I could so maliciously open my lips as to speak a thing so contrary to my own knowledge, for the defacing and annihilating of that which I did know to be most certain and true, and that hundreds of persons might condemn me for denying it; but you must not wonder how I was come to that pass, that I was ready to deny that there was a God in heaven, or would have been brought to affirm or deny anything. But to answer the matter truly before God, and without all dissimulation (for if I should conceal it, God would make the very stones

A most true discourse of the exorcisms.

[1] Chapter ii. *Supra*, p. 326.

in the street to utter it for the revealing of His glory), this I say, that had I never been a Catholic, or not known what the Catholic religion meant, upon the seeing of those sights that I did see, and beholding those wonders that I did behold, far passing any human reach or understanding, I could not have chosen but that either I must have acknowledged myself a most wicked limb of the devil, or else I must needs have embraced that religion by whose virtue these were done. If I were able to explicate to the ear of a man that which I did there behold with my eye, I should make any man unacquainted with those things highly to wonder, whereas now peradventure they will think them incredible.

"Think what they will, there be members of worshipful [families] and others that have been eye-witnesses as well as myself, who can certify that I do not lie, and for the confirmation of these truths I would willingly be content to seal it with my blood, as that most worthy martyr Mr. Dibdale hath already done; whose holy spirit I hope now prayeth for me, most vile and sinful wretch, that sometime was partaker with him of his earnest and extreme labours in conjuring of those accursed and damned spirits, enemies both to God and man, who seek not only the destruction of our souls, but let not also to torment our bodies what they can.

"These cursed spirits, I say, would lie in the bodies of those possessed creatures, which were these in number: Richard Mayne, gentleman; William Trayford, servant unto Mr. Edward Peckham; William Marwood, servant some time to the Lord Vaux; Friswide Owen,[1] and Sara Owen, sisters, whose father and mother dwelt in Denham parish in the county of Buckingham; Anne Smith, that waited on young Mrs. Mayney,

The names of possessed people cured by exorcisms.

[1] *Supra*, p. 104. The surname was Williams; the Christian name, corrupted into Friswood and Fid, was evidently Frideswide, taken from the patroness of Oxford.

and another maid that served my Lady Peckham, whose name I have forgotten.

"All these persons were notoriously known to be possessed, of whom, if I should write the particular accidents that happened to each one of them, neither can I if I would, and it would rise unto a huge and wonderful great volume; it shall suffice that I speak of every one something for the proof of the matter that we have in hand, to convince the slander of the enemy to yield Almighty God His deserved praise and glory, and to the purging of His saints."

Thus far are Tyrrell's words.

And after this he maketh a large and particular relation of many wonderful things that he saw many times and heard pass with his own ears, in Sir George Peckham's house in the parish of Denham, by the virtue of Catholic exorcisms of the Church made by divers godly priests there, which for brevity's sake, and for that they be not much different from that he mentioned briefly before in the second chapter, I do here omit to set down, and will pass over to his conclusion of all, which is this that followeth.

"Notwithstanding all this which I had seen with my own eyes, and heard with my own ears, whereby my faith, if it had been weak, might wonderfully have been comforted, or if it had been none might have been newly kindled and increased, and whereby my dull mind might have been justly provoked to glorify God for the wonders which never could be blotted out of my remembrance, that I should notwithstanding, after I had consented to revolt from God, and to betake myself to the devil directly, go against my own knowledge, and tell Justice Young they were but mere illusions and inventions, I cannot but wonder to conceive it. O good Lord! Thou knowest that I did not fall from the Eternal Majesty by any error or deceit of judgment, nor could I be carried away by

any colourable persuasion of the enemy, but I fell from Thee with a malicious wilfulness, and what I could do more heinously I know not, unless I should have cursed Thee to Thy face; unless I should have openly blasphemed Thy truth, as those wicked spirits of hell do; unless I should say unto Thee plainly, 'Depart from me, I will none of Thy ways, I will not acknowledge Thy testimonies wherewith Thou hast convinced me, I will contradict whatsoever Thou hast said or done, and bury Thy wonders if I can in all oblivion;' yet all this my malice had been nothing in respect of the other.

My desperate obstination.

"O Lord! how often did I fear lest Thou wouldst openly have shown some wonderful accident, for my further condemnation, and for the confusion of the enemy, when Thou didst permit the wenches to be taken, and committed into Bridewell, brought unto the sessions at Newgate—how much, I say, did I fear lest Thou wouldst have permitted the devils to have shown themselves in the face of the world; but that Thou didst not think it so expedient, how glad was I when those matters were so shuffled up, because the world might not cry out of me for my malicious and wilful contradiction.

"And when it came to pass that Mr. Dibdale was to end his last act in this life, at which time above all others men do not use to lie, it being asked him upon his death whether it were true that the maids had such things as were spoken of in their bodies or not, and by what means they were got out, Mr. Dibdale there wished that he might never see the face of the Almighty God if the things were not true as they have been spoken; and this being said in the face of the world, that all that heard him how far soever they be affected to the contrary religion, yet can they not, nor will they, deny but that he took his death upon it: and yet, notwithstanding, Justice Young did say quite the contrary of the man,

Mr. Dibdale martyred.

both living and dead, and namely that at the time of his death he should deny these things to be true. And surely had I not been of as bad a mind or worse than he myself, I should have now cried out upon him; but he may say he did but as I did myself, speak falsely of things most certain and true, and so may he take me up with my own fault: but let me answer Justice Young again, and desire him that we both may then amend, for the truth of God's cause is not to be trodden down by lying.

Justice Young's notorious lies.

Two lying companions shake hands.

"But to turn again to these three most glorious martyrs, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Dibdale, how unjustly they were condemned to death, the one for conjurations, the other two for their priesthood, which now in this unhappy age by the new laws of this realm is made treason. But if to be a priest is to be a traitor, as also to reconcile a man's self, confess his sins, and to be absolved, then am I sure there can none but traitors get to heaven; for if there be a God, a Christ, a Christian religion, the only way taught by this God to enjoy His kingdom is by priesthood, and the administration of His holy sacraments by reconciling of sinners unto His grace and favour, when they have fallen away from God through sin. And thus were all Christians taught in our country, and all others, from the beginning unto this our miserable age. And if there be any hope of salvation yet left for me a wretched sinner (as God's mercy is shut to none that call for it with hearty repentance in this life), then must I come to my salvation by this kind of treason. I mean by reconciling myself to God by confessing my sins, by doing penance, by receiving the holy sacraments, the which I cannot do but at the hands of a priest that is a traitor, as our people term him. O blessed traitor! O happy treason! If to die for God's cause and God's Church be

The holy and happy treasons of our times.

treason, God make me so happy as to become such a traitor, and die for that, and in that treason; and if I had ten thousand lives I would I might die for such treason. Happy, and thrice happy are you, blessed Dibdale, Lowe, and Adams—whatsoever you are accounted of in this world, you are no doubt most renowned martyrs in heaven. I beseech you pray for me that am indeed a most miserable and wretched traitor to God and man, for I am the traitor which have betrayed my Master, injured His anointed, forsaken my faith, abandoned my religion, dishonoured my order, and betaken me unto rotten and human helps that have nor power nor might to help me. You, alas! what treasons have you committed, but only for serving God according to your functions, for saying of Masses, for offering up that unbloody Sacrifice, that Immaculate Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, for reconciling of sinners to Almighty God, for absolving by your priestly power their sins and offences, and by doing other like actions most laudable and necessary to salvation, which all other holy priests and bishops have done and practised in England from her first conversion to the Christian religion unto this age; and as well might all they have been hanged for these treasons by Justice Young and his fellows as you. Wherefore of your charity I pray you, pray for me, since now you triumph in heaven, since no human or infernal power can any way hurt or harm you, I pray you pray for me, and pardon me my grievous offences that I have done you. And thus leaving you now triumphing in your Master's kingdom, I will return again unto the unfolding of my own wretchedness here upon earth, full of human misery and desolation.

The innocence of these holy martyrs.

"To return therefore from whence I have digressed, this I have briefly set down as touching the verity of the exorcisms, the innocence of my dear brethren whom I so falsely accused, and for confirmation of the Catholic

cause, for the which I would I might be worthy to spend my blood; but alas, I am not worthy, God's holy will be fulfilled. And this is the feeling now of my doings at that time, though I, being void of God's grace, proceeded still in my accursed course, as hereafter I shall set down."

CHAPTER XI.

HOW HE GOETH FORWARD WITH HIS COURSE OF DISSIMULATION AND SPIERY, AND THE DISPENSATION GIVEN HIM FOR THE SAME BY JUSTICE YOUNG, FOR SAYING MASS, AND HEARING CONFESSIONS, RECONCILING, AND THE LIKE, IS CONFIRMED BY THE LORD TREASURER AND THE QUEEN'S ORDER.

THERE followeth in Tyrrell's narrative how he proceeded still in his most mischievous and damnable course of dissembling and betraying of his fellows, wherein he was allowed and dispensed withal by Justice Young, as before we have heard in the ninth chapter, and now we shall see it confirmed by the letter of the Lord Treasurer, and authority also of the Queen herself. The narrative is set down by Tyrrell in these words.

"These blessed men, Mr. Dibdale, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Adams thus made away, howsoever my conscience might be clogged for the blood so unjustly spilt let all good men judge, but what grief could long endure in a desperate mind I did wear it out. I went forward in my pretended wickedness. I laboured still to have entrapped more, and chiefly Father Edmonds. I informed of many comers unto him, and especially of Mr. Francis Browne, whereas I never knew his coming to speak with him. But at length Father Edmonds and Mr. Smith the priest, being placed together in one

My especial desire to entrap Father Edmonds.

chamber,[1] and removed somewhat nearer unto me, I informed how they had Mass every day, how many were let in and how oftentimes unto them, how they made exhortations and preachings at times unto companies, and who they were that heard them. I informed how that Mr. Smith had reconciled one Willis, that was laid into prison by the commandment of Sir Francis Walsingham, upon displeasure that Sir Francis Drake had conceived against him; I told how that of a Puritan he was made now an earnest Papist. I did continually send letters unto my Lord Treasurer and to Justice Young, of matters of intelligence, heaping up most horrible and shameful lies, after which letters written I received from my Lord Treasurer a letter of his own handwriting, which he sent unto me a little before his going down unto the Scottish Queen, the copy whereof is this that followeth. His own letter as yet I have to be seen.

"*The copy of a letter written unto me by my Lord Treasurer during the time of my being in the Clink.*

"I have three or four days past read your letters written since you came to the Clink, and by reason of my continual business I have deferred to answer you, which in truth at this time I cannot do so largely as if I were free from business I would. Therefore in brief this know you, that I like both your wisdom and loyalty so well, as I can find nothing to advise you of otherwise than I see yourself hath thought. Your dissimulation is to a good end, and therefore both tolerable and commendable. I pray you therefore persevere therein, as I will persevere in good will.

A holy determination, a scrupulous conscience.

"In haste, 23rd of September, 1586.

"Your loving friend,

"W. BURGHLEY.

[1] *Supra*, p. 194.

"This letter was sealed with his seal of arms and superscribed 'To Anthony Tyrrell.' True it is that during the time of my being in the Clink, and dissembling there so deeply as I did, as well in going to confession as unto the altar, and in all my talk and conversation, although that I had written most odible [hateful] matter unto my lord against Catholics and the Catholic religion, I thought yet with myself that my lord being wise, and knowing the manner of my bringing up all the days of my life, and always until that time to have continued a firm Catholic, and now hearing again of my order and conversation in saying daily Mass, and doing other such exercises as appertained unto the Catholic religion, might grow perhaps into some suspense or suspicion of my doings, and think that in heart I were so suspected still. Therefore I did write unto him the causes of my conversation, giving him to understand that if it were his pleasure to have me remain as I did, I must of necessity dissemble deeply, otherwise my being there were to little purpose, whereupon he did write me that letter which I have mentioned, wherein, according to that which Young had told me before, he commendeth me, and liketh my wisdom; while in truth I know not what wisdom he could mean, unless it were for forsaking of God, and giving myself wholly unto the devil as now I had done.

My Lord Treasurer's conscience at one with Justice Young's.

"And as for my loyalty, I think he meant in betraying of innocents, in spilling of their blood, in heaping God's vengeance upon my own head. If for this wisdom and loyalty I were to be commended, I was rightly commended, otherwise not. But I contemned this counsel as fitter in truth for a heathen than for a Christian, and fitter for one to be misled in all impiety than to be converted unto a good religion. I began also by this new and strange counsel to lament the loss of my old friends, and to wonder at my new. I thought it a very strange

metamorphosis to be entertained after that manner. 'They have no care surely,' thought I, 'of my soul,' and in truth I did wish then that I should not, for I found myself past all care of myself, yet could I not but somewhat discourse in my mind of the fruits of this new religion. The end I looked for at their hands, of all this favour, I was sure would be despair, hell, death, and damnation, yet had the devil such power over me, and Almighty God so little, that forward I went, and purposed in truth never to have made an end until hell gates had inclosed me."

Thus far are Tyrrell's words of his new friends and own state. But after this he telleth divers treasons that he committed again against divers priests and others, both men and women, whose names and estates he learned out by the priests and Catholics that frequented the Clink, and caused them all to be taken, as Mr. Sayer, and Mr. Simpson, priests, Mr. Henry Vaux, son to the Lord Vaux; also he haunted greatly to spy out Father Southwell and Father Garnet, Jesuits, but could not; moreover, he betrayed the innocent maids which had been possessed, as before hath been said, of whom he writeth himself in the manner following, in his confession.

"About this time word was brought me to the Clink by some Catholics, that Friswide Owen and Anne Smith had broken out of the prison at Bridewell, and kept at the French Ambassador's. Whereupon I took an occasion to write to the Lord Treasurer, and among other matters I gave him warning that he should have a care what became of these maids, for if they should be conveyed over beyond the seas, as I heard say the French Ambassador was about it, their matter would bring more trouble unto England than easily would be repressed again. I did write at the same time I remember, a letter unto her Majesty, and sent it unto Justice Young to be delivered. I think the contents

The betraying of certain maids.

imported chiefly the joy that I had received of my new conversion, although I did know how much all priests would inveigh against me both with tongue and pen when it should be known, howbeit I feared not so I might be defended by her Majesty's protection, with other such-like speeches, the copies of which letters I kept not, so I cannot set them down verbatim, as they were written, but upon the sending of this letter Justice Young returned me an answer in a letter written by his own hand, the copy whereof is this that followeth.

"*The copy of Justice Young his first letter, sent to me to the Clink.*

"With my hearty commendations unto you, this is to advertise you that I have been with her Majesty, who most graciously received your letter, and gave me commandment to will you to be bold and to fear no man, for her Majesty will back you, and you must depend only upon her and no other, and she rejoiceth and praises God for your conversion, which made her to rejoice when I told her of your constancy; and she commanded me to will you to set down to her Majesty in writing, all such as you know to be recusants and are reconciled to the Church of Rome, of what estate soever he or she be of: and touching the wenches and where they be, I have advertised her Majesty, and I perceive you have written to my Lord Treasurer of it. And if you do lack anything let me have knowledge, and I will furnish you. My lord came but this night to London, and to-morrow he doth go to the Court, and at his coming back which will be upon Monday, he will answer your letter, and there should be order taken for you, but her Majesty doth mean to employ you in finding out of those traitors, and would have you to keep your credit with them to the end you may the better decipher them. And I pray you if you can learn where any of these priests be abroad to

Fruits required in a convertite.

Dispensation for dissembling.

advertise me. I pray you let me hear from you, and send your mind in writing to her Majesty, for I must be with her Tuesday next. Thus in haste I commit you to the Almighty, desiring Him to preserve you. This 21st October, 1586.

"Your friend assured,

"RICHARD YOUNG.

"This was the first letter which I received from Justice Young, wherein he mentioneth a letter of mine that he delivered unto her Majesty; the contents of which letter I have mentioned before as near as I remember, which chiefly, I say, concerned the joy I had received of my new conversion. Touching the further contents thereof I think I did very much inveigh against all her Majesty's Catholic subjects, especially priests, wherein I slandered them deeply, of their treacherous minds towards her Highness and the State, whereas I may confidently depose upon my soul, that there is no such thing. And whereas I did write in my aforesaid letters that I did know her Catholic subjects' minds inclinable to an invasion, and to be forward to seek her Majesty's ruin and deposition, and that every priest was a persuader thereunto, so far forth as they durst, I cannot but in conscience recal back that deadly slander again, and to protest as I shall answer before God, that I know it to be clean contrary. As touching the requests which Justice Young seemed to make to me from her Majesty, namely, to set down the recusants' names of what estate or degree soever they were, which I did know to be within her realm, I confess that I did so, the more was my sin, seeing that it was only to procure them peril and punishment, yet I did only certify their names and dwelling-places, not charging them to my knowledge with any further matter more than I have already named. As touching the three maids which he mentioned in his letter, so it is that I discovered their

being with the French Ambassador. As for priests' names, as he desired me so did I certify them, and further according to his counsel and request I framed another letter unto the Queen, where I declared what comfort I had

Another wicked letter unto the Queen.

received to hear and understand of her most gracious clemency, and that my conversion did yield to her Majesty any comfort, it was no small joy unto me, protesting that it came from my heart unfeignedly (when in truth I lied loudly in saying so). I acknowledged myself bound unto her Majesty for the comfort of her protection, which, next unto the protection of Almighty God, I said I most relied upon (and I might have said, above), and that I knew I should be sore shaken by the tongues and pens of Papists when they should understand of my revolt from them; and that since it was her Majesty's pleasure to dispense with me for my dissimulation among them, I informed her Majesty that I would continue it with all the wisdom and policy that

A blessed purpose.

I could, and that I doubted not but to cut their throats and they should not know who hurt them. Thus I think, or to this effect I did then write, for the which I crave both mercy and pardon, as also of her Majesty and of all the world. And this is all I can remember now worth the setting down touching the effect of Justice Young's first letter, about the which I have stayed somewhat longer than I thought I should, but I will be more brief in the next."

CHAPTER XII.

OF THREE LETTERS MORE WRITTEN BY YOUNG TO TYRRELL, WITH THE PLOT OF HIS DELIVERY OUT OF PRISON TO PLAY THE SPY ABROAD.

BY the three letters following of Justice Young, his nature and manner of proceeding, with the whole style of their dealing with and against Catholics and with such as be in their hands, is much laid open, which Tyrrell setteth down in these words following.

"After that I had sent according to Justice Young's request an answer unto his first letters, with other letters of mine to her Majesty, within few days after came more letters unto me from him, the true copy whereof is set down hereafter as followeth.

"*The copy of Justice Young's second letter sent unto me during the time of my being at the Clink.*

"Sir,—I have delivered your letter to her Majesty's own hands, with your note or list, who hath graciously accepted them, and she told me that she had taken order with my Lord Treasurer for your relief. Her Majesty's pleasure is that you shall keep still your credit with those wicked persons, whereby you may the better know all their wicked practices, and what you can find to advertise her Majesty. And further she willed me that you shall seek out what you can find against Mr. Bold, and also to advertise her who did reconcile those personages you name, and when they were reconciled, to wit, the Lord Windsor, the Lord Thomas, the Lord William,

A further dispensation yet to sin.

the Lord Compton, the young Lady Stourton, the Lady Darcy, the Lady Mildmay, and young Mr. Southwell, or any other; and she willed me to tell you from her that you fear no man, for she hath, and will have, care over you. And for these matters, I pray you let me hear from you as soon as you may, for that her Majesty is desirous to know these things. Further, I am to advertise you that I have spoken with my Lord Treasurer, who hath told me that he will take order for you very shortly.

"Sir, I perceived by my man Harris that you were desirous to have him come unto you, but I was half in doubt to send him, therefore I pray you advertise me, for I would not have you to be suspected. And thus I commit you to the Almighty God, who ever keep you. This 27th of October, 1586.

Young careful of my credit.

"Your friend assured,

"RICHARD YOUNG.

"After that I had received this second letter, and thoroughly perused it, I found my heart and desire more and more inflamed and kindled against God and His Truth. I did set all my wits upon tenters, stretching them more and more to the devising of some further falsehood and mischief, the which when I could not find matter convenient to my contentment, I answered those letters as I think to this effect—First, that according to her Majesty's will and desire, I would endeavour to keep and continue my credit. And as touching Mr. Bold, I have already set down the uttermost I meant of my falsehoods devised against him, which again and again I recal as malicious slanders and untruths spoken and devised of mine own head against the gentleman.

"And as touching those noble personages that he mentioned in his letter that I should certify what I did know of their reconcilements, true it is that I appeached the Lord Windsor, feigning that I thought him to be

reconciled by Ballard, but where or when I could not tell; no more in truth can I tell whether ever he did see Ballard in his life or no, and therefore my speech of that nobleman was most false.

"As touching the Lord Thomas, Justice Young (who ever was ready to put in more) might have very well left him out, for I do not know that ever I made any mention of him, and for aught that I do know, he is a Protestant. The Lord William I mentioned, but who reconciled him I could not tell. And as for the Lord Compton, I think I informed that he should be reconciled by Father Haywood, but of truth I do not know whether he ever did see Father Haywood in his life.

Justice Young was ever putting in more.

"As for the young Lady Stourton, I informed that Ballard was very familiar in her house, and therefore it might be that he reconciled her, but I knew it not certainly; and for my part I protest that I never knew my lord or my lady, and much less do I know what acquaintance Mr. Ballard had with them. For the Lady Darcy, small cause had I to make any mention of her, as of any of the rest, but only to make up the number, for I never knew her to be reconciled, and therefore my speech of her was feigned; only because I did know that she had an uncle who was a priest, I thought I might make her the more easily suspected, therefore I feigned that he reconciled her.

The Lady Stourton and others falsely appeached.

"As for the Lady Frances Mildmay, I was bold to put her in amongst the rest, not for that I knew any cause I had so to do, but that I had heard her mind to be somewhat inclinable to the Catholic religion, although I think her very far from the effect.

"As touching young Mr. Southwell, I proceeded by the particular mention that her Majesty made of him by Justice Young his letter that she mistook the man, for I accused young Mr. Southwell, that hath now married

Mrs. Southcote, and she had thought that I had meant Mr. Southwell that married my Lord Admiral his daughter; and thus much as touching the names of these noble personages mentioned in this letter, for the rest I remember not that I did write anything of importance at this time.

"Not long after this, still to be doing somewhat, I sent a new schedule to Justice Young of the names of divers priests where I understood they did haunt or lie, and among others gave him information of one Mr. Sale, a priest, that for certain, I said, did lie at the Lord Vaux his house, by the which means he went himself thither, in a morning, and made a search; whereupon the next day following he sent me another letter to advertise me of his success, and to have my opinion of certain papers he had taken. The copy of his letter was this that ensueth.

A new discovery.

"*The copy of Justice Young his third letter sent unto me in the Clink about his searches.*

"With my hearty commendations, this is to desire you to send me the speeches that Mr. Bold did speak as touching the Lord of Leicester, and I pray you to send me in writing if you have learnt the certainty of the names of those that reconciled those personages that her Majesty willed me to demand of you, and if you have any new matter that I may inform her Majesty.

Justice Young's hunger after new matter.

"As touching the Lord Vaux his house, the priests were conveyed away so that they could not be found, but these letters were found in Henry Vaux his bag with books, but he will not confess where he had them, yet he was called before the lords of the Council, and is sent unto the Marshalsea.[1] I pray you send me word what you think

[1] "Great lamentation at Clerkenwell College for apprehension of Mr. Vaux." Anon. to Walsingham, November 11, 1586. P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xx. n. 26.

as touching those letters, and whether you do think that Persons be in England or no.

"Thus in haste, I commend you to the Almighty God, this 6th of November, 1586.

"Your friend assured,

"RICHARD YOUNG.

"This letter he sent me by his man Harris, who brought with him those other letters also which his master had found in the search, because they were written in Latin, and some matters contained in them that they did not well understand. Upon the first perusal whereof I judged them to have been written by Father Persons, but after I perceived that they were written by Father Robert Southwell,[1] and so I informed.

"For Mr. Bold and other matters I answered as I had answered before, that more than I had already said I could not say, and so I made an end for this time, being fully wearied with Justice Young's importunity. But it was not long after that he had been at the Court and spoken, as he made me believe, with the Queen, whereupon he turned to write unto me again after this manner as followeth.

"*The copy of Justice Young's fourth letter to me while I was at the Clink.*

"With my hearty commendations unto you, this is to advertise you that upon Wednesday was sevennight I was with her Majesty and advertised her of such as you had given me intelligence of, I mean those that reconciled the persons that I gave you their names, among which she was very glad that Mr. Southwell was none of them—I mean Mr. Southwell that married the Lord Admiral's daughter—and also I told her Majesty that you would

[1] The letters were signed "Robert." P.R.O., *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. cxci. n. 29; vol. cxcv. n. 119. *Supra*, p. 99.

advertise her of things more certain, the which I pray you do with as much speed as you can, and look what you would have me say to her Majesty in your behalf, it shall be done.

Justice Young asketh still more matter.

"Moreover I do think it best and most for your credit amongst the traitors that you shall speak to some of such as you think best of to be suitors to me, to be a mean to my Lord Treasurer for you that you may be bailed and go abroad upon sureties to appear at all times when you shall be called, and I will procure my lord's warrant to me to procure to take bail of you, if you do think this good, or any other way wherein you shall think best and most convenient for the better service of her Majesty.

Justice Young deviseth to set me abroad to spy more.

"Sir, of late there hath been new devices and practices to destroy her Majesty; if you can learn anything I pray you advertise me, and touching your going to my Lord Treasurer, if it require haste I pray you advertise me, or else I would have you to give first some intelligences to her Majesty. And touching Gelibrand, you shall have him set at liberty, putting in sureties for his forthcoming.

More feigned conspiracies.

"And thus in some haste, I commit you to the Almighty, who ever preserve you. This 17th of November, 1586.

"Your assured friend,

"RICHARD YOUNG.

"*Postscriptum*—I have sent you a small remembrance.

"I cannot let pass to complain here of Justice Young's vehement humour in all his letters, thirsting to receive new advertisements, whereas in truth I had so emptied myself of all matters of my own knowledge that my wits failed me to coin out any more of new; and I perceiving this man never to be satisfied, it made me almost weary of my damnable course, thinking that I should always be

thus encumbered with him, and moreover I could not tell what cause I might have to mistrust him of double dealing, fearing that he did but use all my advertisements unto his own credit and gain. Notwithstanding, perceiving now by these his letters to set me at liberty I was content to think the best, intending that if I found him to play legerdemain with me to acquite [requite] him again by my Lord Treasurer."

One companion mistrusteth the other.

Thus much writeth Tyrrell of his opinion of Justice Young, and of his intention how to buckle with him; and then Justice Young, conformable to that which he wrote in his last, maketh a compact with the Treasurer and Tyrrell how he should be delivered out of prison, which was that Tyrrell should procure a certain Catholic gentleman, the dearest friend that he had (who nothing suspected any least point of this wicked treachery), to repair to Justice Young to sue for his liberty upon sureties. For that he had told him how that his health was much impaired by the prison, the good gentleman was induced to go to Justice Young, and was very courteously received by him at his first entrance, and it was agreed before that as soon as he began to speak of Tyrrell then stormed Young against him, protesting that he was the most stubborn and dangerous man in the land; nay, that nothing could be gotten out of him, &c. Yet in the end he became more calm upon request of this gentleman, and said he would propose the matter to the Treasurer, who was as far out with Tyrrell as Young was, alleging his obstinacy as the other, but yet in the end both of them were entreated to let him out as themselves had first devised, and Tyrrell went abroad to betray as well this good gentleman, his friend, who had procured his liberty, as all other Catholics besides, which Tyrrell himself hath set down in confession more largely and particularly than I thought necessary for this abridgement.

A sinful comedy.

He continueth on the explication of Young's last letter in these words as following:

"And thus much as concerning my delivery, the platform[1] whereof was set down as I have showed by Justice Young in his letter, in which he informed me of new practices intended against her Majesty. For mine own part I fear me I was ready enough to burden the poor Catholics with the same, yet I do not remember any certainty, but most sure I am that I wickedly certified both her Majesty and the Lord Treasurer, that neither the Queen nor the State should be ever secure so long as any Seminary priests were left in the realm, as though they should be the authors and devisers of all these mischiefs, although I knew in my own conscience the contrary.

My delivery out of the Clink to play the spy abroad.

"And whereas in his letter he maketh mention of his setting free Mr. Gelibrand, the priest, the truth is that I got him delivered out of the Clink for the better covering of mine own coming forth, wherewith Justice Young was well contented, and the rather because he was no Seminary man, but made priest before, and so without the compass of the new statute.

"Lastly he maketh mention in his letters of a small remembrance that he sent me, which was only six ryals,[2] the first reward that ever in my life I received for such an exploit; and then I remembered me of the thirty pieces of silver that Judas received for betraying of Christ his Master with the like mind that I received this money, and without the further grace of God it wanted but little that I had not gone and hanged myself as he did. And thus much for the answering of Justice Young's letter, which was the last of his letters that I received."

[1] *Platform*, a scheme or plan. *Johnson.*

[2] The ryal, first issued by Henry VI., was worth 10*s.*

CHAPTER XIII.

HE SETTETH FORTH HIS OWN MISERABLE AFFLICTION OF CONSCIENCE WHILST HE LIVED IN THIS DISSIMULATION, AND SHOWETH HOW HE COULD NOT YET BRAVE TO BE AN OPEN PROTESTANT.

IN this chapter I shall only set down Tyrrell's own narration of his miserable afflicted mind whilst he followed this damnable course of dissimulation prescribed unto him by Justice Young, which thus he expresseth.

"Now it followeth that I recount my particular actions and practices not yet spoken of, during the time of my being in the Clink, together with my practices and treacheries that I committed at my being abroad, until the time that it pleased our merciful God to touch my heart with some repentance.

"The principal and public injuries that I committed in the time of my imprisonment, as near as I could remember them, I have set down before; only some other private and particular I am now to discover, together with the continual conflict and horror of my own conscience in conversing after such a damnable manner among so many innocents, that suspected neither fraud or guile, nor occupied their minds upon other thoughts but how they might please and serve Almighty God, receiving their present afflictions with great patience, and wholly relying upon His blessed will and pleasure for their release. All which blessed men I do confess that for my own part I thought them most happy and myself most unhappy. I thought them chosen vessels of Almighty God, and my own self a wicked repro-

The happy state of Catholic prisoners with my unhappiness.

bate of the devil; for I found in myself no will of repentance. I thought my sins too abominable and grievous, and albeit I believed that God could forgive them, yet I assured myself that He would never do it, for I found in myself no hope or desire of amendment. My sleeps were troublesome, my dreams fearful at my going to bed. I thought it booted not to pray, and yet without prayer I thought the devil should have too much power over me. The sign of the Cross and other customs of the Catholic Church I had laid aside, and yet at times fear forced me to use them.

"Truly I do not lie. I would sometimes when my candle was put out imagine my chamber to be full of devils, especially of those that I had tormented in my former exorcisms. I imagined then how they environed me round about, triumphing of their possession of me, and watching when they should carry my soul as their perpetual prey unto eternal damnation. Ah, good Lord! how I was frighted in my mind when I thought what torments I had afflicted upon those accursed spirits by power of the Catholic Church at the time of those exorcisms which I had used upon them; and with what obstinate malice they did sustain them, rather than they would desist from afflicting a poor creature in body temporally, of whose soul they had no power to do hurt. I bethought me, with no small terror of mind, with what implacable hatred they would afflict me in hell, that had so much here afflicted them, when they should have full power and dominion over me both in soul and body; and yet would I not desist from sin. Neither the fear of those eternal punishments that always in my mind tormented me, nor yet the love of God, or the recording of His benefits, could move my heart or bring it to any compunction; but as one altogether in malice obdurated, I persevered in sin. These inward and secret afflictions I dissembled outwardly as well as I could,

A most horrible state.

and conversed among the Catholic prisoners as if I had been a true sufferer for God of their company, yet did I never come to confession, or to the altar, or to any other spiritual exercises among them, but for mere colour or fashion, and when I could by my device or policy shift it off I would; but when necessity forced me unto it, I was notwithstanding in mind so inwardly perplexed as I could not well tell what to do, knowing that I did so much increase and aggravate my own damnation: in such manner as my life, indeed, howsoever I did dissemble it outwardly, was to me a very hell and sensible beginning of those damnable pains which I made account for ever to endure. Such was my desperate boldness to brave all things out, and to comfort myself with the memory of a little vain and transitory pleasure, for the obtaining whereof I was at a point, not caring what mischief or hurt I went about. And yet if I had been asked that time what was the sum of all my felicity that I had proposed unto myself, forsooth I could answer no other, but only to come into favour with her Majesty, to be well thought of such as are of best account about her, to gain myself some temporal living, to get me a woman to be my concubine (for wife by reason of my priesthood she could be none), to break the vow of my holy orders, to live in all kinds of sensuality.

The force of a guilty conscience.

My heaps of reward for all my wickedness.

"Lo, here the end and full scope of all my doings: for a little vain and transitory pleasure, for a little sensuality, to abandon the grace of Almighty God, and like unto that most wicked Esau, to sell my inheritance of everlasting life for one mess of potage. If I could by any possible means have wrought myself out of all ecclesiastical function I would; for as for my priesthood I greatly feared not, for the ministry I cared not. For the one I was sure I should practise no longer than the time of my dissimulation lasted. As for the other, in my

heart I contemned, howsoever outwardly I should be forced to show liking.

"To become a knave pursuivant I thought it too base an occupation, I having been always brought up like a gentleman; and what else I might be put into that might best agree with my quality and condition, in truth I did not know. I thought if there were no other remedy but that I must needs be of the ministerial profession, that then I would play my part as kindly as I could. I purposed to have gotten the usual cloak of hypocrisy which commonly all ministers do wear, and to have counterfeited a kind of zeal, although religion I had none; and I would have wondered openly at my former blindness, and boldly have affirmed that I did see and perceive more now in one hour's reading than I did before in twenty-five years' study: that now the Holy Ghost inspired me (for I was sure that the devil was within me), I would have put on brazen face of impudency. For now I had already perused their common-places of railing against the Pope, and had run over their legends of lies against all the mysteries of the Catholic religion; and so I would have thought my penny as good silver as the proudest of them, and would have frequented the pulpits boldly, and would have lied loudly, and doubted not but to have contented the ears of the common sort with some blind phantasy, as becometh a minister of Justice Young's creating.

My cogitations of my future life.

"And this was the full end and scope of all my intentions for that time, if God for my unworthiness should have permitted me thus far to have fallen; or if yet (which God forbid) I refusing God's grace, should hereafter fall and come to this ministerial dignity or vocation, that the truth of my doctrine may appear unto the world by the truth of my vocation, I will speak a word or two thereof."

Thus far are Tyrrell's own words, and from this he beginneth to make a large discourse of the vocation he had to be a Protestant, or rather the motives to that vocation, which were, as he hath often signified before, partly fear, partly ambition, partly and principally the temptation of the devil, desire of liberty and of loose life, hatred of discipline, fasting, prayer, confession, and the like, after which discourse he writeth as followeth.

Tyrrell's vocation to the ministry.

"But now to return to my former matter again. After that I have declared the fulness of my intentions in falling from the Catholic Church to the embracing of this new evangelical doctrine and gospel, I must tell you further that I imagined divers times with myself what I were best to do, either to continue yet longer in dissimulation or to break out openly against all Catholics.

"To continue long in dissimulation I thought I could not, but that by some means or other I should be espied, for commonly the devil cannot so counterfeit but he bewrayeth himself. I thought therefore to begin betimes, and to set out unto the world some piece of work as certain predecessors of mine, and namely John Nichols had done, and Lewis Evans, two poor ministers that had been Catholics first, or had feigned so to be; and I thought to have dedicated the same unto her Majesty (O bold presumption, to make her Majesty a patroness and defender of lies), and in truth I began a piece of such a work, and showed the beginning thereof to Justice Young, and had written well near a dozen sheets of paper of such monstrous and shameful slanders against Catholics and against the Catholic truth, that mine own conscience, as corrupt and malicious as it was, cried out against it, and so in one night I cast all into the fire, which because the effect thereof was never yet unto any man known, I will not now for very shame reveal it.

A scandalous, lying book begun, as all their convertites are wont to do.

"Many letters besides I did write unto Justice Young, wherein I called upon him for comfort in the Lord, and that I might be rid from the thraldom and bondage I lived in, wishing that I might once come into the temple of the Lord, and to receive the comfortable cup of their communion, &c.

"And thus much as concerning my letters and writings, and other practices during the time of my being in the Clink. What other particular offences I have committed against any man, surely I do not remember during the time of my imprisonment. I shall therefore discover now the wickedness of my practices during the time of my being abroad, until that it pleased God that of all Catholics I was more deeply suspected. For the manner of my coming forth I have set down already, and therefore I need not here to repeat it again. Being come forth of prison, my meaning was, for the better recovery of my credit, which I had heard before was called in question, first to repair to the prisons, among my familiar friends and acquaintance, to inform them of the order and manner of my coming forth, and to see what any man could object or say against me, and to answer all things as well as I could. I repaired first to the Counter, where I found to my thinking the weather indifferently fair and the clouds were cleared over. Hearing no more of any suspicion remaining towards me, I repaired also to the Marshalsea, where I found all things in like manner well to my liking.

"To the Clink I repaired very often, where my credit I thought was best. I got me a lodging in a place wherein was another priest also lodged, which always had taken my part when he heard me evil spoken of, by whom I might ever understand if aught went amiss, and stop any blast of hard report by his means at the first rebound. Of him I heard sometimes also intelligences of Catholics' affairs (for, good man, he suspected me not), which I ever

informed again to Justice Young. And I bewrayed a brother of my own profession, I mean another priest repairing to our lodging called Garth, whom I discovered to Justice Young, and informed that he haunted much about the stocks at one Mr. Cadner's, whereupon the house was searched, but the man was not found.

Mr. Garth detected.

The search at Mr. Cadner's.

And Mr. Cadner and I meeting within a few days after by chance, he told me the whole story, little thinking that I had been the chief, and whatsoever he showed me I made report again to Justice Young. I betrayed also Mr. Greene, making his repair unto Salisbury Court, and told Young at what time he should there find him.

"I discovered Mr. Sayer, where he lay with Mrs. Peckham, and of his journey that he made into Buckinghamshire a little before this time, how he was at the death of my Lady Peckham, what he did, and who were in his company. I discovered both Mr. Garth's and Mr. Greene's going into Kent, and caused a pursuivant to be sent after them. I discovered the places that probably I thought they would be at. I discovered my being at a house not far from Lyon Key, who dwelt there, who did lie there, who frequented thither, and of the secret place to hide priests; but the search I stayed for a time, because I would not be discovered myself.

Notable treachery. The devil had never such a servant.

"All this I did before Christmas holidays, and then at that feast I discovered where I was myself upon Christmas Day, and what else I did know of any importance of any place or persons.

"Thus by oftentimes going to Justice Young I was at last descried. The matter went about to Catholics as a thing very suspicious. Complaints were made unto myself, but thus I answered them: I denied not that I went often to Justice Young, affirming the cause of my going to be no other thing nor for any other end but for the recovering of my goods, which remained in the pur-

suivants' hands, and so I desired that all who mistrusted me might be informed. But after all this the suspicions rose much more than before by reason of Justice Young's search in the Clink,[1] and the finding out of some secret places, which without discovery could not easily have been known; which when I had heard by one or two that brought me the news, I made outwardly a semblance of sorrow, and inwardly I thought that by that means I should thoroughly be bewrayed, and therefore as very impatient of my own discredit, and desirous to be out of this perplexity, and to get more favour with my Lord Treasurer, I took my pen, and did write as followeth."

I was descried at length.

Hitherto are Tyrrell's words. But for this letter[2] of his to the Treasurer, dated the 24th of December, 1586, as also another that he wrote afterwards to the same man, bearing date the 5th of January, are somewhat tedious by reason of much flattery that he useth to the Lord Treasurer, it shall be sufficient to know that the effect of both of them was to have license to break the course of privy spiery wherein he had lived hitherto, as also the custom of saying Mass, hearing confessions, and the like, which he must needs do, and was so willed to do by his lordship himself, whilst he lived amongst the Catholics, and that he now might be permitted to show himself an open Protestant, which yet he could not get, for that his service was more profitable than the saving of his soul. And as concerning his present spiery, he saith thus in his first letter to his lordship.

"'Of my present endeavours I need not at this time enlarge unto your honour. Mr. Justice Young can fully inform you of everything. *Ambulandum sane est caute quoniam dies mali sunt.* If I should anywise swerve from the square of your lord-

St. Paul's word well used.

[1] *Supra*, p. 197.

[2] This letter, dated "from my chamber in the Strand," is in the British Museum, *Lansd. MSS.* 50, n. 75.

ship's good direction I beseech you let me certified. Great will be the blast wherewith I shall be shaken when my inward conversation shall be publicly known. I have none other to lean unto but God, her Majesty, and your honour, the comfort of whose helps maketh light all other burthens and easeth my mind of infinite cares. In the meantime I will perform what I shall be able, and when I am come to the period of my purpose I hope your honour will further me to the beginning of a new sentence, the reading whereof shall be more pleasing than all the lessons yet that I have ever learned.'"

I promise still to betray.

And in the second letter he saith thus. "'The daily conflicts that I sustain among those that have me in suspect are full grievous, which I am enforced as yet to wear out by deep dissimulation, which grieveth me so much the more, by how much when I shall be known to play the dissembler, my contempt shall be the greater among such as cannot tell how to discern the cause. If I stay longer in England than my appointed day, their suspicions will be daily augmented, and if I depart beyond the seas, God knoweth whether I repair unto my professed foes or unknown friends. If any proof be made against me of any of my actions, especially of such as I signified unto your honour, I am past all redemption with them. There is no other way with me but one. Rather had I become a known enemy unto them at home than to be made a spoil unto their tyrannous mind abroad. Yet if it shall please her Majesty to make me give the adventure, I refuse not the hazard of my life for the satisfying of her Grace's pleasure. What your honour shall think best I leave it to yourself to judge. It becometh not me to determine. If you think it expedient that my conversion be made manifest unto the world, as I doubt it not already to be unto the angels of heaven, I would require that I might be sequestered for some time from the companies of all

They meant to employ me in spiery beyond the seas also.

such as always may control or molest me, that having time, place, and company convenient, I may set down by pen to the view of the world the causes that have moved me to alter my religion.'

"This letter I did write impatient now of conversing any longer among Catholics, and desirous to talk with the Lord Treasurer to be dismissed of them, and to enter into some further damnable course for the destruction of souls: which letter I carried myself unto Justice Young, who told me a flim-flam tale of his wit and policy in searching the Clink, telling me how he had gotten one Boyce, by whom he learnt that there had been Mass said in the Clink, and also in Newgate; upon which information he went first unto Newgate and afterwards to the Clink; and how he came to the Clink at such a time as he took them in a manner at it, and found the waxen lights yet smoking, and all the church stuff slightly shuffled under a bed; and from thence going into another chamber he never left until he by degrees came to the secret place where the church stuff lay; and so he made a great discourse of his wit and cunning in handling of the matter. And after all persuaded me again yet to continue and persevere as I was; whereto at length, for better pleasing of him, I told him that for mine own part I stood indifferent, and if I might any longer continue among them undiscovered so it was, but if not, I would give them cause shortly to complain of me openly: in the meantime I gave him my letter for my Lord Treasurer, and he gave me 20*l.* I think to please me, that I should not take offence for that he had done in searching the Clink against his promise.

"But the clamour of this search was very great, and suspicions thereof did rise against me more and more daily, which made me the less bold to show myself, or to walk into a company of my acquainted unless it were by night, according to the proverb, *Qui male agit odit*

lucem—for so my works being the works of darkness I was in truth ashamed of them.

"But coming again afterwards unto Justice Young for an answer, he told me how that he had been with my lord, who willed me not to fear any Papist, but to entertain myself boldly among them, as if I had committed no trespass against them. But that I was too privy to mine own guilty conscience, I could not swallow down so great a pill but that some relics of shamefastness did yet stick in my stomach, which made me that I had no joy to converse among them, but wished rather that now since I was gone so far, I might show myself their enemy openly for altogether, and these were my wicked and desperate cogitations at that time."

Strange impudence.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW HE WAS CONVINCED AND BROUGHT TO REPENTANCE BY CERTAIN CATHOLIC PRIESTS OF HIS ACQUAINTANCE, AND YET HOW HE DISSEMBLED AGAIN AFTERWARDS.

"AND being now inwardly wearied in mind, and tired with the memory and cogitation of these things, I desired as before I have declared, to give over the Catholics, and from a privy spy to become an open persecutor; and I did but only delay to talk with my Lord Treasurer, and presently after to have burst forth publicly, and in the meantime I refrained their company as much as I could. Yet happening by chance one day (or rather by God's most holy providence) to come into a Catholic house, I received a letter sent to me from a priest who did write instantly that I should come to speak with him.

"Therefore that he had business that concerned himself to impart unto me, but I being loth to repair thither unto

him, and to come into a place in the view of so many Catholics, I did write him a letter to excuse my personally coming, if it were possible; though to pleasure him in anything I could, I said I was willing, if he would signify his mind unto me by writing.

"The party sent me word back again, that there was no remedy, but that I must needs come myself, for that the matter was important. Then I suspected some further discovery of myself besides that of the Clink, but not knowing what it could be I determined to go, and so I went; but all the way I fully purposed to confess nothing whatsoever I should be accused of, and to excuse all if I could, and if not, then meant I to give them mine *ultimum vale*, for I purposed not to see them any more. But lo! God altereth the extremities of man's malicious purposes, and beateth asunder our stony hearts with the pestle of His grace when it pleaseth Him; for when I was come unto him that had sent for me,[1] he so lovingly saluted me, and so friendly did break unto me these matters, telling me of letters that had been found written with mine own hand, containing matter odible against priests and Catholics, as for his part he could not be induced that the writing should be mine.

My treasons laid to my face.

"I denied a great while any such matter, but in the end one or two of my brethren were called in, who showed me mine own handwriting, and the matter it did contain, which when I did see, my purpose of persisting in obstinacy relented.

"I felt compunction at my heart. I told them it was my doing; I had highly offended God, and them. I besought them to pray for me, and to help me thoroughly

[1] Lewis Barlow, whose imprisonment was owing to Tyrrell's treachery, was the priest who showed him this charity. We learn from the Wisbech report that he "was the causer of Mr. Tyrrell his revolt." *Supra*, p. 385. Barlow must have been then in the Marshalsea. *Supra*, p. 205.

to confess my fault, for I would tell them great things. When I had uttered but this much there wanted no tears of their parts to express their inward and tender affections towards me, their readiness to help me out of my sin, and the hearty joy and comfort they made of my return, far different from the dealing of Justice Young, to persuade me still to dissimulation, hypocrisy, and to damnation, if I had not made an end quickly with him.

My compunction and sorrow.

"O good Lord! who would have thought that I should have been touched so soon with remorse of conscience after so long an obstinacy, after a mind so wilfully bent to irrepentance. It was no doubt the great power and mercy of the Almighty. A man may say, *Hæc mutatio dexteræ excelsi.* It was the good prayers, I hope, of my brethren which have wrought in me this great effect, and brought me unto all this confession that here I have made."

Hitherto are Tyrrell's words touching the manner and occasion of his repentance, and though he thought and determined presently hereupon to break off these former intelligences and manner of proceedings with Justice Young; yet found he great difficulties, as he saith, how to do it upon the sudden, of which difficulty he writeth the words ensuing.

"To start aside, as I purposed afterwards, I could not presently until all my business should be ended and done, and to tarry all that time, I well saw that I should not be able to save myself from suspicion, but that needs I must repair sometimes to Justice Young. And although my meaning was to repair to him no oftener than of necessity I must, which could be as I thought no less than once a week, and whensoever I came I minded not to offend God or my conscience in anything, yet such force the devil had within his house that my foot was no sooner set over his threshold, but my heart begun to quake

in many things: for being entered over into his house my custom was to be carried always into an upper parlour, and then his man Harris giving him intelligence that I was come, he would set all other business apart to come unto me. And then, courteous salutations first premised, my cap must cover my head before that we must speak. Then to the purpose, I must straight tell my news. And whereas I purposed to say nothing that might hurt, I told very little that served his turn until after twice or thrice coming. And being always barren, I was forced to coin somewhat to avoid all suspicion.

My ordinary entertainment with Justice Young.

"But, God forgive me, as I coined in truth nothing but lies, so my lies, notwithstanding, were uttered in such manner as they were like to do much harm, for once I told him that I went to the Counter in Wood Street to espy what I could learn; and that the chiefest cause of my going thither should be as touching the copy of a letter that should be sent from the Duke of Guise to the Scottish King, wherein the Duke of Guise should exhort the King that he would have great regard unto his mother, and that if any injury should be offered unto her, as touching the loss of her life, that he would procure him the aid of all princes in Christendom to revenge it, with other such-like matter.

A new lie forged.

"This report tickled Young at the heart, and fain he would have had a peruse of this letter. I told him I would make diligent search for the matter, but having once been at the Counter about that business, Vaux the keeper had forbidden me to come there to speak with any of his prisoners. Justice Young told me that he would procure me free passage, and likewise that I might enter into any prison in London without resistance. Whereupon I went to the Counter again, for before I had feigned that one Dr. Fox had brought the Catholics in the Counter a certificate of this letter;

whither when I was come I never troubled myself about any such matter, for there was in truth no such thing. So coming again to Justice Young, I told him a copy of the letter had been there, and shown unto the gentlemen, but he that brought it, which was Dr. Fox, as I said, had carried it away again, and where the man was to be found I knew not, only the contents thereof were told me, which were as I had already reported.

"Thus, not purposing to hurt, I did great harm in accusing Dr. Fox of a thing that was not so, and also in reporting that I should hear the same spoken of the gentlemen, all which was false. Another time, I feigned that I had been at Islington with Mr. Gawen, which was a false report also; and that he should tell me that those that were sent to the Tower about the speech which was made about the poisoning her Majesty, and that the French Ambassador or his secretary should be privy thereunto, was only but a thing feigned amongst them to get the French Ambassador hence, for that they could not abide him; which of my troth was nothing so, for neither was I at Islington, nor yet did I speak at all with Mr. Gawen.

"But yet upon these my speeches, Justice Young reported this unto the Council and my Lord Treasurer, and, as he told me, he was much offended with Mr. Gawen, and would have made him to be brought unto his answer for it, but for discovering of me.

"During this time also I reported that at my being at Islington, I was at Mr. Tyrwhit's, and that there I did meet a northern priest named Edward Dakens, who told me that for certain the Scottish King should say, that if the Queen of England should do aught with his mother but well, he would crave the aid of all Christendom but he would revenge it. Which was only a tale of my own devising, for neither was I there, nor yet did I know of any such

Another false report coined.

priest, yet I made Justice Young believe that this priest was to depart presently out of London, and to ride into Suffolk unto the Lady Bapthorpe. Which thing he informed my Lord Treasurer of, as he said, and presently there was sent down a pursuivant, by which means, although all were false, great mischief might be done.

"Thus never came I unto him, but the devil got into my tongue, and when I was from him I was vehemently assaulted with temptations to recal back again my good purposes, and to conceal all my detractions, and to fall to my old bias of playing the miscreant as I had begun; yet God preserved me that I still went forward, and never desisted until I had done it.

Justice Young's house the devil's shop of temptations.

"But growing weary at length, both before God and in mine own conscience, of this manner of dealing with Justice Young, to avoid all occasions afterwards for not bringing him any more informations, I was forced to tell him the next time I came that, in truth, now among the Catholics I was wholly discovered, and every one standing in fear of me, it was no boot any longer to tarry among them, and that besides I grew weary of that kind of life, and that I was desirous to break out altogether. Thinking with myself that when it should come to the point that they would have me openly to show myself, that then I would crave certain days' respite to be sequestered from all company, and in the meantime I would shift for myself.

"When I had uttered thus much unto Justice Young he seemed somewhat sorrowful that the time of my dissimulation was now come near unto an end, yet when he did see no remedy and that I should be no longer able to serve his turn, then he would preserve me unto the service of the Lord; for if I could have held out any longer time in this lewd and wicked kind of life, the Lord should never have been troubled with me:

A pretty presenting unto the Lord.

for when no other knavery will serve the turn, then are all such dissembling spies turned over to the Lord, to bring as many of their own people to the devil as they can.

"He bade me therefore to be of good cheer. The next time he should go to the Court he would speak to my Lord Treasurer and to her Majesty to have me despatched from the Catholics altogether, willing me to repair again within three or four days after, and so I did. At what time he told me how he had certified my Lord Treasurer of my estate, and how careful my lord was now to alter my course. He told me also how that my lord would write his letters unto my Lord of Canterbury, and how that thither I should be conveyed secretly, that no Papist might understand what was become of me, and that there belike I should be catechized and be made a valiant champion, and so to come forth with my banner of defiance displayed against God and all godliness: and I doubt not but if God had permitted me according to my deserts to have taken that course, I was likely to come forth into the world as a man replenished with great light. For as Christ, before that He came to preach publicly in the world, went first into the wilderness and there fasted forty days and forty nights, using all that time as a preparation for so great a business, and afterwards was tempted of the devil and overcame him; so before my public preaching in the world I was sent more than forty days into the wilderness, a right wilderness in respect of my abominable behaviour, more wild and savage than any brutish beast for having yielded myself so long a time before into their hands and practising all manner of abomination, and not one devil tempting me, but whole legions of devils every day possessing me, how could it be but I was likely at my coming forth into the new world, but that I should have appeared as a great prophet, far

My preparation to become a preaching Protestant.

greater than John the Baptist? I mean only in knavery, villany, heresy, and all abomination.

"But God averted my mind from so great a mischief, and hath, I trust, confounded the enemy in his own devices. For after I had heard how matters were concluded, and that now there was no remedy but my deformity must publicly be known, I told Justice Young that before I went to my Lord Canterbury, if I might have leave to ride into the country about some business of my own, for to receive some money, that then I would return within a week or two, and should be ready for anything. That favour he liberally granted me. Marry, before I went, he said, I must do him a pleasure in bewraying a secret place at Westminster, where there were as many books as I think were well near worth 100*l.* God forgive me, I yielded to his humour, partly through my own folly and wickedness, and partly upon fear, for that as yet I durst do no other, and partly to remove all suspicion out of his jealous head, that I went about no contrary purpose. So as one night I went with him to the place, and we were five thieves of us in a company to rob one silly poor man, and burglary we committed by the laws of the land, and therefore such a justice and all his companions deserved well to be hanged, for we broke down a great wall, and the master thereof, which was Young, went first in. After whom he called in Harris, his own man, keeping three of us without still, until they two had taken the full view of the prey, for he hoped to have found silver chalices, money, or plate; but when the old thief did see that there were nothing but books, he was content that I also should come in; and such books they were as were very dangerous to the State, and therefore there was no abiding for them there, but needs he must have a cart to carry them home presently to his own house, that then he might make his best sale

Justice Young robbing of a house at Westminster.

of them in Paul's Churchyard, for, in truth, they were no other books but the doctors and such as were vendible in any place of England by the laws of the land.

"Only this, they were contaminated by a picture of Christ in a table, which he found lying among them, and therefore needs the zealous man must have them abroad, to purge them, but with intent never to bring them again.

"When he had clean emptied the house, because the people should not wonder at that which he had done, for that divers of the neighbours came in to see the great cause of his search, as though some matters of treason had been informed him to have been in that place, he brought forth to the view of the people the said picture of Christ, and a pair of old irons to make singing breads withal. 'Behold,' quoth he, 'what popery, what trumpery, what abomination we have found here.' 'Would you have thought,' quoth he, 'that such abomination had been in your sanctuary of Westminster?' The poor miserable wretches that beheld the manners of the man, and feared lest if they should have gainsaid him, he would have clapped them up also in some strait prison, cried out, 'Fie upon this abomination! Be these the Papists' gods? Do they believe in these?' 'Yea,' quoth Justice Young; 'behold, with these irons they make their god, and eat him when they have done.'

Justice Young's behaviour to colour his robbery.

"My hair stood upright of my head to hear the wretch his blasphemy, but all tended to no other end but to go on with his knavery, to rob a man much honester than himself, to carry away those books, so full of abominations; which soon after were cleansed, when he should sell them and have the money in his purse. Here I cry good Mr. Blackwell the priest mercy, that was the true owner of these books; in all the time of my knavery I never went before in person to rob any man, nor never purpose to do again.

"When all the booty was ready to go into the cart, then

came the messengers from other thieves, which fain would have had their part, as the Dean of Westminster and others. But because they were not partaker of our pains in breaking down the wall, our master thief, Justice Young, wiped their noses all, and faced them out with a card of ten, saying that he must in haste inform the Council and her Majesty of the good service that he had done that day; who, if they had rewarded him as he deserved, he should have had a fair halter for his labour, as also all his men.

Thieves do strive for true men's goods.

"Home at the last we came, all to his house to supper. Our master was as jocund as might be, for he had gained a good day's work, and when he came home he divided, like to Æsop's lion, the goods into four parts. The first he challenged unto himself, because he was most worthy; the second he would have, for that he had laboured most; the third, likewise, he would have, because he did sweat more in the toil than we; and unless we would grant him the fourth part, farewell all friendship; and so the great thief seized upon all. And thus could I never be free from doing of mischief, so long as I had any *commercium* with the devil. Nor more shall any man be, that shall have any dealing with such an heretic or atheist.

"The next day I came to him to take my leave, and to have a passport; and then for my upshot, I must needs tell him for Sir Francis Walsingham what Seminary priests had been at Sir Thomas Tresham's, and at Mr. John Talbot's of Mitcham, since Easter last.[1] I told him that myself was never there, but I named four or five others to have been in either place, which I protest I knew no more than the child new born; so at the last I got my passport. He gave me 5*l.*, and I bid the devil farewell, praying our our Lord to bless me for ever seeing him in that manner again. And thus was I enthralled unto the time of my

[1] From this it would appear that the paper, dated March 3, 158$\frac{6}{7}$ (*supra*, p. 159), is Tyrrell's. It is in Young's handwriting.

departure, at which time I took such order for myself, as I was free from him, and other assaults of the enemy, and had leisure to enter into myself, and to set down the declaration of my wickedness, which Almighty God grant that it be with such sorrow, and true repentance, as may obtain remission of the same, and all good Christians I beseech to pray for me to the same end."

[On receiving his passport from Justice Young, Tyrrell immediately left London. The spies were soon at work to ascertain what had become of him. Burden's credit with Catholics was still good, and about this very time he received a letter[1] from Thomas Fitzherbert, who was then living with his wife in Paris, in which mention is made of Tyrrell. "Gilbert Gifford beginneth to be repentant for his bad courses, and I hope will prove an honest man, which we all here most heartily wish and pray for. It is notable to mark the judgment of God fallen of late upon him here, and such another [Gratley] at Rome, and as we hear of Tyrrell in England, all in so short a time." After such a proof of the confidence placed by leading Catholics in Burden, we shall hardly be surprised at the minute and accurate information of the following report[2] which is in the handwriting of the decipherer, Thomas Phelippes.

"Tyrrell departed from London sixteen days past towards Scotland, at which time he received 5*l.* in money and warrant of Mr. Young, whom he persuaded that he would travel into Suffolk and Norfolk about a discovery. This was imparted to them hereunder named.

"He hath written sixteen sheets of paper, containing first an epistle to the Q[ueen], showing what service he did or promised was to save his life and get out of prison.

[1] P.R.O., *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xvii., n. 22, February 20 [$158\frac{6}{7}$, misdated in the Calendar $158\frac{5}{6}$]. F. S. to Henry Crosse; endorsed by Phelippes, "From Fitzherbert to Burden."

[2] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcix. n. 41.

Then he setteth down all the services that ever he did, and by whom it was required, with certain discourses that passed between the L[ord] Treasurer and him in private, and Mr. Young at large. This is all he knoweth.

"He heareth that Tyrrell is gone into Scotland with some whose name he cannot learn that had a passport from the Earl of Huntingdon, and was to go with some packets and otherwise to be employed in Scotland. Tyrrell had an intent thence to pass into France and so publish his recantation in print.

"This book was perused and allowed by
Crowley his kinsman in the Fleet.

John Lawnder
Edmonds the Jesuit
One James a priest
} all prisoners in the Clink.

Brampstone a priest
John Webster
} in the Marshalsea.

Dr. Halsey, the physician, was acquainted with the same.

Trugion [Tregian] in the Fleet.

Richard Randole, with one eye, late prisoner in the Clink.

"There was a collection made for him of 40*l.* or 50*l.* to pass him into France."

Endorsed—"18 March 1586[7]. B. touching Tyrrell."

Before this was seen by Walsingham, he wrote[1] to Phelippes, who had anticipated his wishes in the employment of Burden.

"Sir,—I understand that Tyrrell, the *Jasoiste*,[2] to recover his credit with his Catholic brethren, is minded by the advice of some of them to write a discourse to charge the Earl of Leicester and me with the compassing

[1] *Cotton. MSS.* Calig. C. ix. f. 572; holograph.

[2] Topcliffe's spelling of the word "Jesuit," is usually *Jhezewt*. Sir Francis Walsingham's eccentric epithet for Tyrrell must be supposed to mean the same. His use of the word reminds us of Mr. Froude's.

of the death of the Scottish Queen, and of Babington and his complices. He hath already written fifty sheets touching that subject, as I am informed.

"Two things I desire, wherein I would have Burden employ himself. The one in seeking out what is become of Tyrrell, the other in discovering who have been parties in this conspiracy, for that I mean to have as many examined as are justly to be suspected to have been privy to this villainous device.

"For that I was informed that Tyrrell was minded to go into Scotland, I have written to ıı to lay wait for him. This morning I hear he meaneth to go into France, and to publish his noble work. I pray you desire Burden to deal carefully in this cause.

"And so God keep you. At the Court, this 17th of March.

"Your loving friend,

"FRA. WALSINGHAM."

Addressed—"To my loving friend, Mr. Phelippes."

We learn from an endorsement by Phelippes on one of the State Papers[1] that the name of the spy, for whom Walsingham here uses a sign, was Malevery Catlin. The following extract[2] gives the result of this man's inquiries.

"I was of late brought to a remote place in Richmondshire, where are presently harboured two principal and dangerous recusants, the one called Mr. Carwen, the other Mr. Teady. The house where they remain is named Knappey Castle, *alias* Knappey Hall. They have taken it of one Mr. Medcalf of Yorkshire, of purpose to live obscurely and to entertain priests, whereof they are not unfurnished. They have one lately come, who nameth himself White but is Tyrrell, already in these quarters. I suppose this to be the man. He is, as he

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccii. n. 1. [2] *Ibid.* vol. cc. n. 44.

saith, a Sussex man born. He appeareth to be about forty years of age, of an indifferent stature, of complexion nearest sanguine, and of an auburn hair. I have sent advertisement hereof to the Earl of Huntingdon, lest through overlong detraction the opportunity might be lost; to whom I have also set down such perfect demonstration both of the secrets of the place, and of the manner of the persons, as they cannot, I hope, escape. . . . From Westminster, the 26th of April, 1587. H."

Tyrrell's movements are described by himself in the Preface to the Sermon, of which mention will shortly be made, which was preached by him at St. Paul's Cross, and printed in 1588. He says, "Thinking first to have travelled to Rheims, and afterwards to Rome, and directing first my course into Scotland (for that I feared to find any secure passage at any English port), I came to Leith of purpose there to take shipping for France, but finding no passage ready I took the next opportunity offered me in a fly-boat to Hamborough."

Lord Burghley, hearing that he had gone to Amsterdam, wrote[1] to Sir Francis Walsingham, on the 22nd of May, 1587, with a view to the recovery of his useful instrument. "For Tyrrell's departure towards Amsterdam, I wish my Lord of Buckhurst or Mr. Wilks were advertised how to inquire after him, and to recover him to be returned to England, with his late declination from his dog's vomit." This wily advice was probably followed with success, for Tyrrell, who attributes his return to a resolution taken in "such a sudden tempest and storm, that neither master mariner or passenger thought ever that he should have escaped drowning," adds that "we came safe to Hamborough, where after I remained a while, I repaired unto her Majesty's Commissioners that were come thither, who can bear witness of my repentance." What arguments "her Majesty's Commissioners" em-

[1] P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cci. n. 40; holograph.

ployed we are not likely to know, but Tyrrell's feelings when leaving London are described in the next chapter, which is the conclusion of the long paper drawn up by him at this time, the "fifty sheets" of which Walsingham had been informed, which ultimately reached the hands of Father Persons at Rome.]

CHAPTER XV.

HIS SORROW FOR THE GREAT CRIMES REHEARSED, WITH A DECLARATION OF THE TRUE CAUSES OF HIS FALL, AND OF THE WICKED MANNER OF PROCEEDING OF THE ENEMY WITH HIM.

AND now Anthony Tyrrell having made his former long declaration and confession, though I have not put it all in length, but a part only of it, because of the prolixity, he addeth for his conclusion this that followeth.

"One part of my repentance now performed, two other do yet remain behind not finished. The world seeth my confession, but where shall they behold my contrition and satisfaction? Alas! who shall give water unto my head, and to my eyes a fountain of tears, that I may bewail the wounds of my poor wretched and sinful soul? Alas! wretch that I am, void of all comfort, what shall I do? To whom shall I now sue for any relief or succour? Unto heaven I dare not lift up mine eyes, so sore have I offended, and unto the world I am most miserable and worthily despised.

"God I have offended by contemning His Majesty, profaning His sacraments, rebelling against His Church, dishonouring the dignity of holy priesthood, betraying His anointed, and by doing infinite other sins and offences most execrable in His sight. And worthily

My grievous offences.

am I to be contemned of man, as having sought the effusion of the blood of so many innocents, accused the whole State Catholic, where I have neither spared princes, noblemen, gentle or simple. I have gone through and betrayed every state and condition. My dearest friends I have abused as my greatest enemies, and my greatest enemies I have chosen for my greatest friends. I have most maliciously persecuted such as I never knew, and such of whom I was most beloved I have bewrayed them, nay, betrayed them without all cause, without all truth, without all colour or probability, to work their confusion, their destruction, and not only to them but to their posterity, so as not only such as I have presently offended may have just cause to detest me, but also the generations yet to come shall have most earnest occasion to curse me.

"Which being so, alas, what shall I do? For if I cast mine eyes upward unto heaven, I see God with His sword of eternal justice most eagerly bent to strike me; if I cast mine eyes down into hell, I see the dragon's mouth wide open ready to devour me; if I consider what succour I have left to save me from the fury both of the one and the other, I find none but a feeble thread of a most wretched life, that every day threateneth breach, and all the world hath just cause to seek busily to cut it off. What comfort therefore is left, or shall I with cursed Cain despair?

"O Lord, I am confounded, I know not what to say. On the one side I am pulled down into the bottomless pit of hell with the gravity of my grievous sins; on the other side I am stayed and raised up again, with the hope of Thy eternal mercies. Between hope and despair my soul is poised; which end will yet be heaviest I am uncertain: but notwithstanding; I surely catch hold of the balance of hope and cry in bitterness of my soul, *Ne dimittas me, obsecro, spes mea, quoadusque ostenderis mihi*

salutare meum—'Forsake me not, O my hope, until Thou hast presented me before the face of my Saviour.' I tremble and quake for fear, I am ashamed of my wickedness, whereby I dare not present myself before the sight of Thy heavenly Majesty.

"But I most humbly beseech you, my dearest friends, to pray for me, albeit I have betrayed you, albeit I have been the cause of your temporal deaths, albeit I have deserved no manner of favour at your hands. Consider yet how God hath exalted you, how God hath turned the extremity of my malice unto your everlasting triumphs. And since the hurt that I have meant you hath increased your good, and the malice that I did bear you hath procured your joys, according to the greatness of your charities, help me in this extreme need, that your joys may be made the more perfect by my conversion, and thus leaving myself prostrate at the foot of your compassions, I will turn down my face lower upon the earth, and I will look whether here also I may find any comfort or consolation.

My hope in the prayers of Catholics, and especially of the priests martyred.

"O Lord Jesus, how suddenly are mine ears filled here with clamours and complaints, some wishing that I had never been born, some saying it had been good if I had starved at the pap, other some cannot devise any torments too cruel for my punishment, and of none of all this have I just cause to complain. For if I look down into the infernal parts and consider the entertainments there that are prepared for me, alas, all other confusions, shames, pains, or rebukes are but as one drop of water unto all the ocean sea.

His speech to God.

"But yet this notwithstanding, I would humbly crave of all men to whom these my doings shall be known, that if God of His mercy vouchsafe to take me up, let not His creatures go about to throw me down; if God of His justice be pleased to pronounce His rigorous sentence against me, His creatures need not to procure me more

harm, for that I am to be punished with eternity. God's holy and blessed will be done, *in cujus manibus sortes meæ.* If He save me by His mercy, His name be honoured. If He condemn me by His justice, be He honoured also. And if it might stand with God's love and favour to pardon me to the end my soul might not cease to glorify, I could be content for my satisfaction to continue for some time in hell itself, to abide there the pains of the damned, so as that I might but enjoy afterwards God's favour and presence. But because *non est in morte qui memor sit tui: et in inferno quis confitebitur tibi?* therefore I will cry, *Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me, et contra folium quod vento rapitur noli ostendere potentiam tuam.* Let me be an example, good Lord, of Thy exceeding mercies, and by me let no sinner have cause to despair.

His speech to Catholic priests.

"And now, my dear brethren, Catholic priests, I will turn my speech to you, for as for your help I doubt not but that you will cast upon me your compassionate eyes, pour forth your prayers, offer up your holy Sacrifices, become unto me most loving Samaritans, pour oil and wine into my wounds, lay me upon your beast, carry me to the inn, commend me to the good man of the house, lay out two pence for my charges, and if it come to any more to agree with him for the reckoning. You see how I am spoiled, you may behold how I have fallen into the hands of thieves. They have robbed me, they have spoiled me, they have not only taken from me the gifts of grace, but even the very gifts of nature herself, whereby I have done things contrary to her rule and prescript, far passing any reason or understanding; and for your rewards of this your charity I shall admonish you, that by other men's harms you may learn to beware. Take heed that you travel not that way that I have done lest you fall into the same enemies' hands, lest you be robbed and spoiled as I have been. Oh, if I were to travel again this journey that

I have done, knowing that which now I do know, I could (I hope) easily decline all this evil which yet, peradventure unawares, others may fall into. So long as I travelled the King's highway, so long as I did not decline too much, either on the left hand or on the right, so long was I most safe and well, so long I walked the way of Almighty God with great joy and alacrity; but after that I came to stray a little on the one side, and to choose out byways and unknown paths, then did I begin to fall into these dangers that now I am plunged into. What is the King's highway that assureth safety, and what be the crooked paths that threaten dangers? Surely, as I found by my own experience, so will I let you to understand.

The true causes of my fall.

"I walked the King's highway in all security so long as I followed the common course of spirit that all priests are taught to do, and kept an humble and lowly mind, compassionable unto all, and hurtful unto none; so long as I lived in fear of my own actions, lest anything might happen that pleased not Almighty God, or displeased my neighbours; so long as my mind was pure and simple, my intention free from all corruption, desiring only to please Jesus Christ above all things, to seek His honour and glory in all my doings, and for the pure love of Him to refuse no peril, no labour, no pains to do any good, to save my soul, to convert any sinner unto repentance. When I felt in myself an ardent desire of saving souls; when I mourned inwardly at any ungodly action, when I rejoiced outwardly to be in place or company where any goodness was, or true devotion; when I was free from all affections, as ready to help the poorest as the rich, and always to seek to do that wherein my conscience persuaded me that it stood most with God's honour and the common profit; when I kept my watch continually upon mine own words, and always looked more deeply into mine own defects than into the

The King's highway of security for priests.

doings of other men; when I was ready to judge the best, and to help a fault if any were found in others, rather than to make it worse; when I carried an open and free heart unto all my brethren, esteemed better of their labours than of mine own, rejoicing in their companies, ready to impart anything I had to relieve their necessities, to prefer them in anything above myself, to be readier to follow their judgments than mine own: so long, I say, as I was of this mind, so long I walked the King's highway of my priestly vocation with others, so long I carried about me the testimony of a good conscience, which is worth more than all the treasures in the world.

"But the devil envying me in this felicity, behold with what subtleties he began to work; behold how finely he began to undermine me by little and little, and to supplant me, bringing his battery by degrees into my fort, and never leaving me until he had beaten it down altogether. Behold how the seductor began to lead me out of this King's way, and to bring me unto an unknown path. First he brought me into a vain liking of myself, for after that I had gotten great acquaintance in England, and many favours also among many, I did not humble myself before God's Divine Majesty as I should have done, acknowledging from whom I had received all these gifts and graces, being the most unworthy and wretched of all others, but suffered the devil a little to creep in, contenting myself to be affected of men, to be liked of, and to grow into some vain liking of mine own doings thereby. The foul serpent lay long lurking in this covert before he would show himself too openly, for fear of being spied, and that I unawares might tread that path with more danger. For behold after that he had a little tickled me with vainglory, and yet so craftily that scarce it might be spied, he cunningly moved me to show myself often in company of my betters, to be much talking, yea, and

How the devil began with me by pride.

under the colour of doing good I desired to converse with such as I knew best to affect me, to make greatest account of me, to bestow best rewards or gifts upon me, than among others where perhaps I might have been more profitable.

"My devotion was never in private so good as it seemed to be in company, which my conscience often told me savoured of hypocrisy. I was never so glad to be alone in my chamber, and to move my soul unto compunction, as I was to be talking with others of matters in public. Rewards as there were many given me, so did I not take them with that humility and purity of mind and sincerity of conscience as I should, to pray devoutly for the givers, and to make them serve only for my bare necessities, and with the rest to relieve others that did more want; but when my money increased into any great sum, under the colour of necessity of hiding myself and avoiding danger of the enemy, I abused my own soul and brought myself into more danger of my greatest enemy.

"For I began secretly to have a liking of profane apparel and other superfluities, to bestow more therein than in reason I should, yet in the beginning I little prevented it, but in process of time I found the manifest danger that it brought me unto. For that afterwards I had grown to be of good estimation, and that I had gay clothes upon my back, and money sufficient in my purse, and occasions many of times to ride up and down, for doing of good, as I then thought; suffering vainglory to take some advantage of me, and pride to prick me, though at the first they did not so much prevail, for I was commonly conversant with such as both by example and doctrine I was desirous to edify. Yet coming abroad into the world, and happening upon profane companies, to whose humours to conform myself I thought it policy, I was more vehemently assaulted, and received

The degrees by which the devil dealt with me.

ofttimes no small sensible blows, whereby I perceived plainly into what peril I had endangered myself. But yet, not taking great care to amend this first breach, I gave the enemy more open advantage in time to gain the assault. Then began I to wander further out of this kingly highway of spiritual life, falling to particularities and partialities more than I ought, affecting some kind of persons more than other some, only for my own private affection and commodity, falling from my old zeal and common labours to do good to all, and restraining myself to a shorter compass of following some few, and to take up a particular residence in some such a place as I might be sure not to want, but rather to abound, and suffering myself to be much cockered with eating and drinking of the best and lodging easily, and to have all things at my commandment. I began to be very remiss in all good exercises, to give myself too much to outward and vain solaces, and above all too much intent to flatter the humours of such as I had taken under my charge, whose temporal rewards I receiving, did not give them again the spiritual benefits and instructions, as I ought, but applied myself to yield too much to their infirmities, until such time as I made myself also most infirm, and not able afterwards to control them with any authority.

"But among all other things one of the principal causes of my spoiling was in not keeping my heart always pure and clean as at the beginning it was, and long had the enemy practised with me to desire to be conversant much with women, and this under the colour of holiness and piety; who of themselves, although they were very good and virtuous, yet did my soul often catch deformity before that ever I departed their company, and afterwards as my confessions may appear. And therefore let all good men beware of this snare.

Let all Catholic priests note this.

"And thus by degrees I grew unto more boldness, my

conscience began to be less timorous and less charitable towards my brethren, more private I began unto myself, less willing to take pains, more willing to be among such as were given to more liberty and looseness of life, among whom I would a great deal more enlarge than I ought, being out the Catholics' sight, and dissemble a great deal more than did become me.

"Then pride did increase a great deal more in me prodigal. I began to be in expenses, not considering that I lived upon the alms of other men. Then fell I to haunt taverns and ordinaries far unfit for my profession, to spend with the best, to ride up and down upon pleasure only, and to slack the spiritual harvest. Alms given to me to bestow I would oftentimes hold and reserve some part to myself, under the colour of necessity, whereby the spirit of covetousness got hold upon me, and then was I sore assailed with pride, covetousness, gluttony, and lechery. What shall I say more? By walking out of the King's highway I did fall into the enemy's hands, and here miserable do I lie for that permitting them one inch they have gained an ell; nay, they have utterly destroyed my soul, unless it please God to repair it again.

"If any man have slipt besides myself, let him rise again by my example; let all beware, for there is no hold with heretics; they are never content with little; they must have body and soul to perish together, and more too if it were possible; for if a man had ten thousand souls, and as many bodies, they of England would not rest until all were brought unto destruction. So long as I sought to conserve the grace of God, by patience and constancy, so long I was a traitor, and worse than a traitor; but as soon as I applied myself to work all kind of villany, then was I presently a good Protestant and a dutiful subject; neither did they ever ask me word more of religion, so as most certain it is that they seek not the salvation of man's soul,

nor not who gives himself to the devil so he serve their turn. Who would have thought? But it is too true. I have learnt the knowledge thereof too dear, unless God be the more merciful to pardon my fault; for from the time that I first yielded myself into their possession, which hath been now almost four months complete, had they ever, think you, any talk with me in matters of religion? Verily, not a word. It sufficed them that I said I was not a Papist; and if I had been a devil (as I was little better), all to them had been one, so as I would do the feat they desired, which was to appeach the innocent, to bewray priests, to bewray Catholics, to bring them to searches, to enrich them with spoils, to bring such in danger of their lives as they loved not.

"Among all the abominable lies and untruths that in my discovery I have set down, no fault was ever found, and yet in my conscience my Lord Treasurer is not so simple but that he might perceive how that in many places I lied grossly; yet all passed for truth, even in matters most weighty of men's lives, states and utter overthrow. When I had devised all that possibly I could against so many, as before you have heard, Justice Young not so satisfied, would have me to stretch my wits still further for more, for the obtaining whereof there was no remedy, but that I must continue in dissimulation still. Is this, Mr. Young, your 'calling men home,' as you term it, 'to the Church of Christ?' Is this the desire you have of poor Papists' souls? I pray you from henceforth let us continue in our Papistry still, which abhorreth all dissimulation, which alloweth not such kind of treachery to entrap the blood of pure, simple men; suffer us, I pray you, simply to proceed in our vocation, and either, if God permit us to fall into your hands, let us yet enjoy the quietness of a quiet conscience so long as God shall grant us life; and though you hate our priesthood so deadly, yet let us go to the gallows with consciences unspotted;

The lack of conscience in the Lord Treasurer and Young.

first seek not to spoil our bodies, and then after to bereave us of our souls. This nature is mere diabolical. You can be content that we be Papists, exercise all the parts of a Papist, never come to your Church, never receive your communion, never hear your sermons, never read your books, with condition that we will apply ourselves jointly to practise all mischief, so our intentions be to persecute, to betray, and, under covert of virtue, to exercise all kind of wicked knavery.

"If this be your religion, sure it is an abominable religion, a devilish religion, fit for no other than the devil and his dam. The holy prophet Elias crieth out of all dissemblers, asking them how long they will halt on both sides, willing us that if God be God we should follow Him, and if Baal be god, then we should follow Baal. And Justice Young can will me boldly to halt on both sides; to bow my knees, as he saith, to Baal: he can will me, with a Protestant to be a Protestant, and with a Papist to play the Papist. How agree together Elias and Young? But truly I do not marvel at it, for there is as much religion in this blessed man as in a horse, and so in them all, for aught that I can learn. This, then, is their practice, and this the sum of their devotion, so far as I have learnt by mine own experience, that so soon as they have gotten a man within their fingers, first they tamper with him very cunningly. If they perceive the man anything timorous or of a softly nature, then will they use very smooth words, and tender him an oath, the which, if the party be so foolish as to take, then they think the field to be half won, for they know us to be of more scrupulous consciences than themselves; then will they urge him all they can to discover where he said Mass, where he conversed, and with whom, and with such ordinary stuff they will endeavour to halter him in the snare if possibly they can.

The Protestants' religion.

3 Kings xviii.

"But if they find him anything resolute, then he is

an obstinate Papist, a man no doubt guilty of many treasons, and that he must be warily looked unto: he shall want no words of threatening, and all manner of evil entertainment at their hands. They will send for him once, twice, thrice, and still they will assault him with new devices and policies; but in the end, if they cannot prevail to get forth matter for their liking, then they will proffer him conference, and offer very fair that way, if that he would confer, but all with guile. If they find him still resolute, and that he remaineth still constant in his profession, then they send him away for a rank traitor: they will surely give him his passport to the gallows as speedily as they can. But such as they can by any ways allure by flattery to relent in any point, they will seem to spare and favour somewhat; and if any be so ill-disposed or overcome by temptation as to yield any further, *ipso facto* they are become honest men. Then is all religion set apart as a matter to their purpose clean impertinent, for if they can gain him to play the spy, then will they promise him all preferment; then will they give him out, to colour their craft, that of all Papists that ever they knew he is the most notorious of all other; and never a Catholic that they shall talk withal, but they will cast him in their dish as most obstinate. But contrariwise, such as remain sound and constant in deed, those will they seem to accuse of all imbecility, and give out of them that they have bewrayed much, when as God knoweth there was never any meaning to do any such thing: whereof I could give many examples, so cunning hath the devil made these men in his ways.

Many arts and devices of the persecutor.

Most notorious devices.

"But of all other men he is most esteemed by them that will be their spy and betray his fellows. Let him say Mass or do what he list, all shall be winked at, so long as he can by any colour contrive to do any mischief; though otherwise he have in him no taste of religion

at all. Some others there be besides myself (when they had me) that they have gotten into this damnable state and condition. I could name them, for I know them, and have heard of their informings and seen of their doings; as I am sure they have of mine. Yet I will not name them here, but desire them for the Passion of God to remember themselves, to leave off serving the devil, and turn to Almighty God again, from whom they are fallen. I know by my own self that they continually carry a hell in their consciences. Alas, my brethren, there is none of you all that has gone further than I. God hath called me up again. Let us serve God and forsake the devil. Of the one we shall have nothing but hell and damnation: of the other we may have eternal salvation.

Of others also fallen.

"But now to the point of myself. I doubt not but they will now blaze out unto the world all my writings and recantations that I made against the Catholics, which they have in their own hands, thereby to defame me for a notorious dissembler; but whatsoever they do, they do but increase their own shame. For let them set forth all my dealings in what vile manner soever they list, and say what they can, this only shall they gain, that sin and the devil brought me to them, and God of His grace delivered me again from them. For who seeth not the difference of these two contrary spirits? With the one I was brought into a looseness of life and a corruptible folly, whereby I plunged myself so deep into sin as I had no grace to wind myself out again. I ran further and further until I renounced my faith and abandoned all honesty, by the which what pageants I have played hath appeared plainly by my former confessions, and if I would have continued the sinful course still, they never would have found any fault with me. I might now have enjoyed all the favour and promotions that they could have bestowed

The different spirits that brought me to the Protestants and from them.

upon me. I might still have maintained myself in all sensuality. What thing then hath averted my heart from all this but the grace of God only, that leadeth to good life and hatred of such wickedness; so that let them paint me out in what colours they will, the more they deform me the more they shame themselves.

"And truly I could willingly ease them of that labour of laying open my lewdness, and do it myself, acknowledging me to be the most miserable and wretched creature of all others, for so truly I know myself to be, and confessed it at the beginning of this treatise, and now again with the same I will end. And most humbly I do submit myself unto all shame and confusion in this world, so I may find mercy in the sight of the Omnipotent Majesty [of] our merciful Saviour in the world to come, beseeching all good Catholics to pray for me, and to pardon my most grievous sins and offences committed against them. Our Lord Jesus grant me grace of perseverance, that hereafter I become not the child of perdition again. And so I end."

CHAPTER XVI.

OF DIVERS LETTERS THAT AFTER HIS REPENTANCE HE WROTE AS WELL TO THE QUEEN AS TO OTHER PERSONS.

OVER and besides the large confession and declaration which before you have heard set down by Anthony Tyrrell's own hand, upon sorrow and repentance that God gave him of his most wicked and desperate former proceedings, he wrote also divers other particular satisfactions to sundry persons, whom in particular he had injured, which I have in like manner lying by me written as all the rest, and signed with his own hand. And the first of them is written the 26th of January, 158[6]7, and directed to some forty-nine or fifty persons, some dead, and some alive, some within and some without the realm, whom he confesseth to have most grievously and falsely accused; and albeit in the former narration which you have heard, either all of them, or the most part, have been named, together with Tyrrell's particular doings and sayings against them, as himself setteth it down, with his own conclusion thereupon, omitting all the rest, I mean the larger declaration of his enormities, lies and slanders against them, for that before you have heard them. Thus then he maketh his table or memorial.

"*The names of persons beyond the seas whom I have falsely accused and slandered are these.*

"Pope Gregory XIII. that last was.

The General of the Jesuits.

The Rector of the English College, named Alfonsus Agazzarus.

Father Good, confessor to the College and a Jesuit.
Dr. Lewis, living then at Milan.
Dr. Allen.
Dr. Gifford.
The Duke of Guise.
The Bishop of Ross.
Mr. Chambers, priest.
George Stoker.

"The names of those that are dead and that I falsely accused were—

"The Queen of Scots.
Mr. Ballard, priest.
Mr. Anthony Babington.
Mr. Barnwell.
Mr. Charles Tylney.
Mr. Abington.
Mr. Tichborne.
Mr. Gage.
Mr. Henry Dunne.

"All these I do here name, not for that my accusations can bring them any more hurt or danger than already they have done, but that they may be the better purged hereafter by this my confession, especially of such crimes as ever I have charged any of them withal, which are most false, and so I leave to speak of them any further, and I will proceed to the others that live.

"The names of such as I have most falsely and unjustly accused here in England that are living, whereof some are in prison, some at commandment, and some at liberty, are these that follow.

"The Earl of Arundel.
The Countess of Arundel.
The Lord Windsor.
The Lord Stourton and his wife.
Sir John Arundell.
The French Ambassador.

The Lady Drury.
Mr. Edward Windsor.
Mr. Thomas Metham of Yorkshire.
Mr. Ralph Crathorne.
Mr. Ralph Babthorpe.
Mr. David Ingleby.
Mr. Tipping.
Mr. Dinnington.
Mr. Crossland and his brother.
Mr. Bold of Lancashire.
Father Edmonds.
Mr. Highgate.
Mr. Jacques, servant to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain.
William Warmforde, Mr. Jacques his man.
Mr. Gervais Pierrepont.
Mr. George Gifford.
Sir Thomas Gerard.
Mr. Yearly, *alias* Burton.
The two Wisemen (*sic*) of Essex.
Mr. Thorogood of the Temple.
Mr. Francis Browne.
All priests in general and all Catholics in general."

After this list made, he setteth down as it were a compendious recital of all the several accusations which he ever made against any one of all these people, and after all maketh this conclusion following.

"All these aforesaid accusations I do acknowledge myself falsely, maliciously, and slanderously to have made against all these persons before specified, and that they are monstrous lies, and most manifest untruths. So God me help. In witness whereof I have signed this with my own [hand], and shall stand to the same unto the hour of my death. The 26th of January, 1587.

"By me,

"ANTHONY TYRRELL, Priest."

His second letter of satisfaction was unto the Lord Windsor, dated in London, the 20th of February, 1587, which beginneth thus.

"Being moved in conscience, right honourable, to acknowledge my great offence committed against yourself and your brother, Mr. Edward Windsor, I could not but signify the same unto you by writing, and of you both most humbly do crave pardon," &c. And then, after a long declaration of his false accusations against them both, as well to Justice Young and to the Treasurer as to the Queen herself, he concludeth thus.

"And therefore I do confess myself most grievously to have slandered both your honour and this honest and innocent gentleman your brother, of both whom I crave most humbly pardon and forgiveness, beseeching your honour that for God's cause and for the clearing of your brother, his innocency, by me falsely accused in these my letters, may be known unto her Majesty and the Council, that guiltless he be not made away through my false accusations. And thus having in this point discharged my own conscience, not refusing any temporal shame or punishment for the purchasing of God's favour, and forgiveness from your honour, I shall most humbly take my leave. From London, 20th of February, 1587.

"By me,

"ANTHONY TYRRELL, Priest."

The third and largest letter of all was to the Queen[1] herself, as whom most grievously of all others he thought himself to have offended and injured, by abusing her with false and feigned informations of treasons, and putting into her head jealous, fearful, and dangerous suspicions against

[1] As already mentioned (*supra*, p. 206), this letter is printed by Strype, *Annals*, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 425. A manuscript copy of it is in the British Museum, *Lansd. MSS.* 51, n. 66, f. 154.

her own subjects without all cause or ground in the world, and by pricking her to use rigour of laws, and other extremities against such as to his knowledge had nothing at all offended, whereby much blood was already shed, and much more like to be, and infinite inconveniences most certainly to ensue. This letter was dated also in London, as the other before, the 20th of February, 1587, and beginneth as followeth.

"If ever your Majesty's pity inclined unto the complaint of a sorrowful and distressed subject, vouchsafe, O gracious Queen, to incline to mine which craveth no more at your Highness' hands than that you would peruse these letters which are much more long than willingly I would, but that they contain matter which concerneth your princely justice, by defending of your innocent subjects and protecting them from harm. I am the same man, although then far different in mind, that presumed heretofore to write letters unto your Majesty, and as it hath been told me you vouchsafed to receive them, to read them, and (if the report were true that hath been told me) you took great joy and comfort of them. Alas, my right dread Lady and Sovereign, I am full sorry that the effect of your comfort (whatsoever it were) proceeded from so evil a cause, the ground whereof, when once it shall be known, will yield your Majesty more discomfort than fully may be shown."

This is the beginning of this letter, and after this he setteth down somewhat largely his bringing up in the Seminaries beyond the seas, protesting his sincere intention in all his studies there, as also his return to England when he was priest, without any the least evil meaning in the world towards her Majesty, or against the State, assuring upon his soul that the like sincerity is in all other Catholic priests that come in, and do persevere to live in England according to the purity of their education, and desire of rule and order of their superiors that send

them. And that while himself lived so, he lived in perpetual peace and comfort of his soul, and in most charitable meaning towards all, and when he once began to fall from this care of virtue and purity of life, he began also presently to think of change of religion, and of malicious hurting of others. But it shall be best to hear all uttered in his own words. Thus then he sayeth.

"Now as concerneth my conversation in England this is most sure and certain, that if my life had endured agreeable to my profession, this good mind in me that I brought with me had never changed. Neither fear of death nor hope of preferment could have made me alter my opinion, but rather than I would have been brought to relent or to have forsaken my faith as I have done, I would have yielded my body most willingly unto death, as divers of my virtuous brethren most gloriously have done, and every good priest hereafter will do, in despite of all the devils in hell or torments of any man. But alas, here, O most gracious Sovereign, to my temporal shame and confusion (so as my soul may find mercy at the dreadful day), I must openly confess that I fell into a great corruption of life and dissolution of manners, suffering myself to be drowned in all sensuality and pleasure, that the grace of the Holy Ghost could not any longer abide in a temple so defiled and polluted with sin, insomuch as my own conscience crying out against my own impiety, and I not amending my evil manners, the devil ceased not to oppugn my faith. Whereupon my religion began to be irksome unto me, not for that I knew my religion to be evil, but because I found myself so passing naught as that God or any goodness could no longer abide in me.

Sin and dissolution the causes of my fall.

I was therefore oftentimes, before that ever I did fall into the hands of your officers or into the danger of your Majesty's laws, minded to

My mind to fall before my apprehension.

have renounced my religion and to have yielded myself unto your Majesty's Council,

and so either to have played the dissembling spy, or else to have counterfeited some open recantation, and this for no other end than to serve the world and to live for the time in pleasure, although in the end I was sure to purchase thereby eternal damnation. Yet God's mercy expecting my repentance preserved me still from that horrible crime, and although all the branches of the tree of my soul were withered dry by sin, and all ready to be cut off and cast into the fire, yet so long as there was any life left in the root, that is, that my faith was not yet forsaken, there was some hope of my returning again.

"And so being by God's permission and providence taken at length, and brought into the danger of your Majesty's laws, and thinking that I had been to lose my life for the same, these thoughts came into my mind, that to die for God's cause in the Catholic religion I was not worthy, by reason I had so contaminated myself by sin. Yet such was the infinite mercy of Almighty God on the other side as He letted not to offer me the grace if I most wickedly had not forsaken Him; but the devil having gotten so great an advantage of me before through sin, envied now my happy state for to be called unto my trial for my profession, fearing thereby that he should have lost me altogether, and so assailed me more fiercely in another kind, procuring me under the colour of pleasure to save my life by recanting my Catholic religion, although thereby I was sure in the end I should lose it for ever. And now am I come, most gracious Sovereign, unto the true cause of this my last conversion, or rather mere perversion as truly I may term it, by the which what lamentable stratagems have been committed may now easily be seen, for after that the devil had so prevailed with me that I was content for my temporal life and worldly preferment to yield unto all manner of sin, O sweet Lord! I tremble to recount what a number of monsters I personally did let into my soul at once.

My conversion for which her Majesty was made to rejoice, what it was.

Thinketh your Majesty that I had either care or conscience of my doings, when I had abandoned all grace, all goodness, all truth and honesty, and cast myself wholly into sin? No, verily, for from that time I became more malicious than ever Judas was that betrayed Christ, for I converted wholly my malice against Him, and at one jump I forsook my faith which I knew for certain to be pure and good, I accused the Pope, I slandered the Jesuits, belied Dr. Allen, Dr. Lewis, and Dr. Gifford, reporting of them and divers others of our nation unto my Lord Treasurer such horrible matters, as against the Turk or the devil I could not devise more grievous. What Ballard's practices were against your Majesty, or any of the rest that suffered with him, I protest I know not, nor ever yet could learn, and if they were guilty of any crime I do not and will not go about to excuse them [but rather will rejoice at their deservings. *Lansd. MS.*]. Only this, O gracious Queen, I cannot but confess a truth, what peril or danger of my life soever I sustain, for the same that I accused Ballard most falsely for conspiring your Majesty's death, that he should have begun to break the matter with Dr. Lewis at Milan, continued the same with the Rector of the English Seminary and the General of the Jesuits at Rome, by whose helps his suit should have been commended unto Pope Gregory XIII. and by him the action of your Majesty's death should have been allowed and confirmed, and the same he should have imparted unto Dr. Allen at Rheims, who should like well enough of the thing, and after to have been practised by Ballard or some of his complices here in England, when they should see their time; wherein I accused Charles Tylney and Edward Windsor, the one dead, and the other living, to have been two of the first attempters of that fact: all which, as I hope to be saved at the latter day, was as false as God is true, for never in my life did I hear so much as a thought conceived awry against your royal person by them.

Touching Ballard and his company.

"When I had deeply waded in this ford of lying, I spared no manner of person upon whom I might colour any cause of mischief, insomuch as I accused the French Ambassador in many things most wrongfully, as also his secretary. I accused the Earl of Arundel and the Countess of many heinous matters, and divers other noblemen and women of your land, of crimes most false and untrue. Among the rest I accused the Scottish Queen unto your Majesty of things that I knew no more than the child new born. What otherwise she deserved I know not [nor mind not to defend her if she have offended your Majesty in anything. *Lansd. MS.*], but whatsoever I did inform your Highness, it was only to bring your Majesty into greater hatred with her, whom I presumed you did not greatly love before, and that made me to enlarge lies against all Catholics, and namely against my Lord Windsor, the Lord Stourton and his wife, the Lord Compton, Sir John Arundell, and others.

"And I remember, that being settled in this malicious humour, that I did write unto your Majesty a letter, wherein I warned you of three things. First to extirpate and weed out all Seminary priests as members most pernicious unto your realm, for they went about wheresoever they came to bring your Majesty in hatred and contempt with your subjects, persuading them that to seek the destruction of your royal person was a most laudable thing.

My most pernicious persuasions to the Queen.

"The second, that you should have a great regard unto the Scottish Queen, by whom your Majesty's life stood most in danger, who sought by all means she could, not only by foreign power, but by domestical attempts, at once to shorten your days, that she herself might be advanced to the Crown.

"The third was, that your Majesty, having now crushed the heads of the conspirators, and had all your enemies

at such an advantage that it were not good you should leave to persecute them, and to enact such laws against all recusants as whosoever shall refuse to swear against the Pope and all his proceedings against your Majesty and this realm, that he should be accounted no better than a rank traitor unto your Majesty: all which invectives, most gracious Prince, if you consider with what mind I did write them, you have no manner of cause to believe them, for I uttered these matters as one replete with all malice, and intended not to say truth in anything.

"And truly to speak as I shall answer before God, only sin and the devil was the cause that made me so monstrously to lie and to counterfeit unto your Majesty a conversion, and the grace of God, undeserved of my part, brought me back again, for I never could have been induced to have made so many notorious and villainous slanders against so many worthy prelates and princes, against so many noble and worshipful, against my dearest friends and acquaintance, whom I knew to be most clear of all the matters whereof I then charged them, had not only sin and the devil procured me to it. Justice Young, with all his cunning, could never have catched such hold on me, nor ever could he have brought me to that offence, as to forsake my faith, abuse your Majesty and my Lord Treasurer with so many writings and false informations, had not sin and the devil procured it.

Sin and the devil the causes of my doings.

"Therefore think not, good madam, that I could either write or speak unto your Majesty with a pure and sincere heart, being so foully stained with filth and corruption. Think that I imagined nothing but lies, practised nothing but lies, sought the effusion of innocent blood by betraying of priests, bewraying of Catholics, and by doing all the injury I could against them which never imagined hurt or harm. But yet I must confess that I was not so forward unto these mischiefs of myself, as I was persuaded

unto them by Justice Young, of whom I cannot but say, although I abide all the torments that he can procure me if ever I come again into his hands, that he is a most cruel blood-sucker, a destroyer of your people, and a great abuser of your Majesty. And as for his cruelty in shedding of blood, it is too well known for such as he cannot destroy both in body and soul, as he had done me, he will be sure to prefer unto the gallows; otherwise, if they yield anything to him, then under the colour of persuading to God's truth and religion, he will not let to bring them straight headlong unto damnation. For so soon as he hath made either priest or Catholic to relent anything, then all religion is set apart, for the first ground of his new faith must be to play the spy, and under the colour of godliness to practise all the knavery that he can devise. So as before we can come to enjoy the perfection of this our new faith, we must first learn the rudiments, how to betray Christ and His anointed, and to appeach the innocent, be they never so good, never so virtuous, never so far from offending your Highness or your laws. Some means we must seek to find a hole in their coats, to no other end but to cut their throats. And when we have learned out perfectly this lesson, then must we proceed to greater wickedness, for we must yield unto all kind of dissimulation; for that was the chiefest point of Justice Young's persuasions to me, never talking of any matter that concerneth God or religion, albeit that I craved it myself very often. I desired him that I might have books, that I might have conference, nay, that which was more, that I might come unto his house, if I might not in the church, and receive the communion, but no such matter could be obtained. So long as there was any means for me to persecute the Catholics with mischief, I must still play the Seminary priest, and that, notwithstanding your Majesty's laws

My opinion and knowledge of Justice Young.

Justice Young's rudiments of knavery.

which have made it treason, and all priests traitors and all such felons as shall receive them, yet must we now boldly practise our treasons and make as many felons as we can. O merciful God! laws were wont to be made to prohibit sin and offences and to save the innocent, and now, by the justices and ministers of the law, we must be exhorted to do the plain contrary and break laws, to make others to be traitors and felons that otherwise perhaps would not have been.

"Before I did make any semblance of my counterfeit and feigned conversion, it was a damnable thing with Justice Young to be a priest, much more to practise Papistry, as to say Mass, to reconcile, and to do such other like actions. There could be no means of salvation but presently to return unto the Lord; and when I was desirous so for to do, the Lord was not then at leisure to receive me. It was no matter although I continued in Papistry still. It was no sin to say Mass, no treason to reconcile, no offence to commit idolatry by way of dissimulation, with intent to do mischief, to seek innocent blood, to betray such simple souls as neither thought hurt or harm, to destroy your Majesty's subjects, and thereby to make your Majesty guilty also of all their bloods. O heaven, O earth, what heart would not bleed for pity to hear of these things?

"O gracious Queen, whom God hath made governess over us to protect and defend us, to whom, next unto God, but to yourself, may we complain? How are your subjects betrayed, how are they spoiled, how are they brought like sheep unto the slaughter? Is it your pleasure that innocents should be thus cast away, that treasons should be thus practised? Was this the end of your laws, to bring men, whether they would or not, unto their deaths? If I wist it were so, why, then I have no more to say but, *Moriamur in simplicitáte nostra*—'Let us die in our simplicity.' Better it were to die than so to live, like birds to be brought into the pitfall unawares by

A most pitiful case.

the procurements of such as name themselves ministers of your Majesty's justice.

"Is this the way to bring your subjects unto reformance, as they call it? Is this the sum of all their new religion—to wit, dissimulation, spiery, knavery, and all abomination?

"I cannot contain, most benign Princess, to utter the truth, although I should die ten thousand deaths (as I look for no life, nor desire my life, if ever I be taken again); yet if I would still have continued in this damnable course, I might have lived (until God of His justice had cut me off), and should have been accounted no traitor, but a good subject, and had I know not what preferment. I have my Lord Treasurer's letters for my safety: he persuadeth me to continue in dissimulation still, and so long he saith he will continue his good will towards me, but now that I leave to play the dissembler, I fear me I shall be again reputed for a traitor. O dear sovereign, what a world is this, that flattery and all impiety breedeth favour, but truth and honesty getteth all hatred!

"I have also Mr. Justice Young's letters wherein I am commanded from your Majesty to continue in dissimulation, and against poor Catholics to do all the mischief I can. For mine own part I cannot be persuaded that ever your Majesty would wish me or any of your subjects so to deal; for albeit you affect not our religion, you pity our miseries, you acknowledge us your subjects, we live under your sceptre, we obey your laws, so far forth as we incur not damnation unto our souls; and more I trust you will not require at our hands. At least, if we that be priests may not escape with our lives, although we do nothing but our duties, yet grant us of your princely favour and pity that we may go unto our deaths with safety of our consciences. Let us not be molested as we are, to be allured to play the spies, as many have been besides myself, and I fear me remain as yet in

A just petition unto her Majesty.

that perverse and wicked mind, which I know they cannot do without a continual torment in their consciences, and therefore I wish your Majesty not to trust them, for they will never be true unto you that are false unto God. Therefore whatsoever they do, whatsoever they promise, is but for saving of a temporal life, and the gaining of a little worldly preferment, and whensoever God shall touch them with remorse, they cannot do but as I have done.

"Your Majesty may well think some important cause hath moved me thus to alter my condition, and do as I do, or else of all men living I were the most desperate person and unwise. For first, I have so grievously offended

A serious consideration.

all Catholics, as I shall be ashamed for ever during my life to look any of them in the face; and now, on the other side, had I so gained the good will of your Majesty, the favour of my Lord Treasurer, and other noble men, as I might have hoped to live temporally in credit and grace; and now for me voluntarily, without compulsion, to return back again where I have deserved most to be contemned, and to forsake that state or condition wherein at this present I was best befriended, what is or might be the cause? Verily, no hope of any reward; for all the days of my life I look for no other than penury, poverty, penance, and affliction, and very likely some violent temporal death for my sins that I have done; and yet all these perils and inconveniences I am most willing and desirous to embrace, rather than for ever I would be cast out of God's favour, and die the child of reprobation.

"And think not, most gracious Queen, that now I have received your Majesty's reward, that I have given you the slip. I never received of Justice Young but 30*l.* and that by piece-meals; whereas I lost in my chamber, that the pursuivant robbed me of when I was taken, better than 40*l.*, which never yet for all my favour could I recover. Besides by the searches that I procured Justice Young he hath gotten better than 100*l.*, so that in truth I am nothing in his

Justice Young's gains by searches.

debt. My rewards have not been comparable to my losses, although they have been greater than I could deserve for any such service, and I would to God your Majesty from henceforth would reward all dissembling spies as Parry was rewarded with a halter, for then should your realm in short time be purged, your Majesty quieted from a number of devices wherewith now daily you be terrified, that your life is more grievous unto [you] than the state of a private man.

"How many false reports and lies doth Justice Young bring your Majesty in a year, partly by his own devising, and partly by such as I have been? How often think you hath he been tampering with me for to accuse some ladies of your privy chamber for intending to poison your Majesty, and in truth I know of none, yet for the satisfying the man's humour I accused the Lady Drury, that she should say when your Majesty had given her a blow, that she would remember it. How fain would he have had me to appeach the Earl of Cumberland, the Lord Scrope, the Lord Montague, and others, and I did what I could, especially against the Earl of Arundel, of whom I made so many lies, as if they may be credited are able to despatch him.

Great wickedness of Justice Young.

"I am in conscience bound to certify your Majesty of this that you may understand how your subjects are bought and sold, and your Highness tormented with continual fears, for as I hope to be saved I say nothing now of any malice, but that which I know of my own experience, and much more if I should not be too tedious to your Highness to repeat it.

"I have for mine own discharge truly set down in a book the truth of everything. It may please God that it may come to your Majesty's peruse, you shall find therein that it would pity you for to know, and yet very necessary that you should understand it.

"And, now to conclude, grant me this favour, O most

gracious Queen, that I may at length desist from my former abominable course, and blame me not for seeking true amendment, howsoever you otherwise shall think good to punish my offences committed, and let not innocents be cast away upon my false complaints, as your Majesty will answer it at the latter day, for now, although too late, I tell your Majesty truly that I accused them all falsely and betrayed them wrongfully.

"And for myself I crave no further favour or mercy than it shall please God to put it into your Majesty's mind inclinable always unto pity. If I be taken, I think no death too grievous for me. Only not presuming in my own strength, I have sought means to save myself. If I be taken, here I protest I have not presumed this act upon any contempt, but in all humility, fear, and trembling, knowing howsoever I might have abused the world, I could not escape the judgments of God, and therefore what death soever I suffer, what torments soever I endure, God give me grace to embrace them as wholesome medicines for my soul, praying notwithstanding unto the last moment of my life most humbly that God may long preserve your Majesty, and grant you a prosperous reign, and finally to reign with Him in glory everlasting. Thus craving on my knees your Majesty's pardon, I most humbly take my leave. From my chamber in London, the 20th of February, 158[6]7.

The conclusion.

"Your Highness' most lamentable and repentant subject,

"ANTHONY TYRRELL, Priest,

"most unworthy of that vocation."

CHAPTER XVII.

HOW AFTER ALL THIS HE WENT OVER SEA AND RETURNED, AND FELL AGAIN, AND MADE NEW ABJURATION PUBLICLY AT PAUL'S CROSS, THE 31ST OF JANUARY THE NEXT YEAR FOLLOWING, 1588.

AS soon as Anthony Tyrrell had written the former revocation of his wickedness and wilful lies, and had sent the letters which you have heard both to the Queen and to the other persons whom they concerned, and that divers copies thereof was spread through the whole realm by his own request, he retired himself beyond the seas with purpose to amend his future life, and give such satisfaction as he might to God and the world for the heinous trespasses before committed. But being arrived there, and finding the shame and confusion of this course to be bitter and more heavy in practice than in his fervour of repentance he had imagined (for the execution of good purposes are commonly more hard, at leastwise for a time, than the contemplation), he began to faint and to suffer himself once more, as he saith, to be assaulted and overcome by the devil so far forth as, fearing lest he should not be able to go forward with his purpose of penance, he yielded to go back to England again. Where falling into the hands of his former masters and managers, that knew well his infirmities, he was easily brought to promise them to unsay again all that we have heard him say and confess in this his long narration. Which thing being thought by the Council and other of the law and State to be a matter of no small importance for justifying of the deaths of such as upon

His going over and return again.

his false impeachments and slanderous devices had already been executed, as namely the Queen of Scots, Mr. Ballard, Mr. Babington, and all the other gentlemen that had suffered with him, they esteemed it the surest course and most plausible to the people, not to accept any more this man's word or writings in private, but that in person he should go up to the pulpit of Paul's Cross upon some festival day, and there make a sermon, and publicly revoke all that before he had avouched of his wicked proceeding, as also to avouch again all his former false accusations that before he had revoked with such sorrow and repentance as you have heard.

Wherefore this being so determined among them, they took order that he should be kept very close in prison until the pageant were played, to the end no Catholic man might come at him to work remorse or scruple of conscience in him as they had done before, promising him besides all favour and preferment if he went through lustily and resolutely with this device, which he promised to do; and for more show thereof he required pen and ink to set down the points for his memory that he was to utter, and so he began to do, not to their misliking. But when the time of his sermon drew near, he felt such an infinite torment in his mind for doing against the known truth of his conscience, as albeit he were alone in prison, yet wanted he not inward admonishers that exclaimed against his desperate intention, with whose cries he was so wearied and overcome at last that he determined to alter all and once again to deceive the heretics; and so leaving those first papers which he had begun to write against all truth for pleasing of his enemies, to take in hand to write the quite contrary, with purpose to pronounce the same at Paul's Cross when the day should come. And for that he was sure as soon as ever his meaning should be descried he should be stopped and pulled down from the pulpit and not suffered to proceed

any further, he determined to make divers copies of his speech, to the end that when he should be taken from the place he might cast them among the people, as afterward he did; neither did his keepers or instructors mistrust his much writing in the prison, for that they persuaded themselves that all was in their favour and that the sermon would be sound, albeit somewhat long.

His coming to Paul's Cross.

Wherefore, when all things were in readiness, and the fame given out over all London and over most parts also of the realm, of this strange sermon that should be upon Sunday, the last of January, in the year 1588,[1] there wanted not concourse of people from all parts, nor of all sorts, and many of the Council and nobility were also present to hear so rare a comedy.

And first of all a preacher of their own was set up to make the prologue, which was very long, containing an earnest exhortation to be attentive to what the other should say and to believe him; and immediately after him Anthony Tyrrell was brought up with much honour to the pulpit—and then after he had commended himself upon his knees to God, he began the speech which here I shall set down, translated out of the Latin copy printed in Trevers in Germany, the very same year of eighty and eight wherein it was written and cast abroad by Tyrrell himself; and this I do for that I had not his own English copy by me when I gathered this treatise, and all is one thing in substance. And as in his former narration and confession, so also in this, I have abbreviated divers things that seemed over long and not so important. And here you must remember (as before I have said), that after he had uttered some few lines of the beginning, whereby his instructors and the rest perceived that he was to utter the plain contrary of that which they expected, all began

[1] Father Persons and the *Concertatio* naturally give the date in the New Style. In England the day was called January 21, 1587.

to cry *Crucifige* upon him, and to pull him from the pulpit, at what time he cast abroad his papers, which contained as followeth; and besides the vehemency of spirit wherein they were uttered, it is also to be considered that when he wrote them and cast them abroad he was in the Protestants' hands, and sure to incur their high displeasure and his own temporal danger for the same; so as no other respect could move him to be so earnest in this point, but only pure force of truth and conscience. Thus then he saith.

Tyrrell's speech.

"I have no doubt (right honourable, worshipful, and most dear in our Saviour Jesus), but that you marvel much, as well to see this great concourse of people and me here present, as also what I have to do or say in this place this day, and if you please to have a little patience with me and to consider the mercies of Almighty God towards me, I hope you shall perceive my coming thither to be neither vain nor unprofitable, for I do call both heaven and earth to witness that no other cause, but only the pure honour of Almighty God, the salvation of my own soul, and all your comforts that are good people and do love His truth, hath brought me hither. I doubt not but you have heard (or at least-wise very many of you) of my grievous fall, of my horrible apostacy from my faith, of my cruel persecuting the holy Church of Christ, of my false accusing of many innocent people, of the hurts and ruins which they have taken thereby, and I doubt not but the best sort of you have wondered how a man of my calling or education could ever fall to such abominable madness or blindness.

"And again, I presuppose you have not been ignorant of the repentance that Almighty God vouchsafed to bestow upon me for the acknowledging of my faults and errors, of my reconciliation again with the Church of God, by whose prayers and Almighty God's grace assisting me, I was brought to set down a true and sincere confession of all

my former sinful doings, with full intention to amend and to do penance for my life to come; with which mind also I left England and went over the seas, and therefore now to see me here again, and to be brought to this place to recal my said confession, you cannot but wonder as well at my desperate proceeding, as also of the folly of those that bring me hither, and will seem to give credit to me after so large and ample a confession as before I published against them under my own hand, especial[ly] seeing I avouched in the same that my heart and conscience was never with them, but that only their negotiations, the devil's deceits, and my sin induced me to feign myself to be of their side and to accuse others. Wherefore to be brief. The cause of my coming hither this day is to protest before God and His angels and you that are present, that I am a most horrible, heinous, and detestable sinner thus to behave myself, and unworthy of all mercy and grace both before God and man; and that the true cause of my coming up to this pulpit is to confirm my first confession, made by the instinct of God's holy grace and written with mine own hand, of the most impudent lies and wicked slanders that I uttered to the Right Honourable my Lord Treasurer and others against many innocent persons: for which crimes, though God of His mercy hath given me sorrow and repentance, and I had departed the land with intention and purpose to amend my life, yet the devil together with my sins brought me back again and tempted me to deny the truth which before I had uttered, and I yielded thereunto, for which I acknowledge myself most worthy of all hatred, contempt, and confusion, and of all punishment, both temporal and eternal. Moreover, I confess and make it known to all that now live or shall live hereafter, that I accused most falsely that holy Pastor and Bishop of God's Church, Pope Gregory XIII.,

The great folly of the enemy.

What brought him back again.

His false accusations.

affirming him to have consented to the death of our most sovereign lady the Queen, whereof I accused most falsely also both Mr. Ballard the priest for proposing the question in Rome, which was not so, and Mr. Dr. Lewis at Milan, and Mr. Dr. Allen then, but now Cardinal, for consenting to the same; for in truth I never knew nor heard any such question to be proposed, nor any treaty or conspiracy in the world against her Majesty's life or State; and so much the more wickedly and unjustly were Mr. Edward Windsor, Mr. Charles Tylney, and others accused by me for the same.

"Moreover I call God to witness that of the affairs of Mr. Babington, and those other gentlemen that died with him, I knew no more than the child newly born, notwithstanding my long and grievous accusations of them, but only that I once heard Mr. Ballard say that foreign princes made preparation to invade England. By like wickedness and falsehood I feigned the killing of the lords in the Star Chamber; accused Mr. David Ingleby for intention to take the Tower and to deliver the Earl of Arundel; I feigned an embassage of Gilbert Gifford from the Duke of Guise to the Count [Earl]; I slandered Mr. Thomas Metham, Mr. Ralph Craythorne, Mr. Babthorpe, Mr. Tipping, Mr. Dinnington, Mr. Crossland, Mr. Jacques, Sir John Arundell, the Lord Compton, and other noble and worthy gentlemen, as in my aforesaid confession at large and particular I have set down; and as I protested then to her Majesty, in my particular and several letters touching those affairs, so I protest now that the said confession and revocation of my false accusations were most true, and directed, no doubt, by the Spirit of God, as the contrary (I mean my false accusations) were only of sin and the devil, and now Almighty God, whether I would or no, hath driven me to utter the same, of whom I ask pardon most humbly upon my knees.

"I do also exhort all others by my example to take

His exhortation to priests and others.

heed how they do behave themselves, especially in this great business of confessing God's faith and true religion, that they be not carried away by fear of punishment and temporal death, nor yet by hope of dignity and honour; let them beware of dissimulation or yielding, as also the flattery and deceit of sin, which bringeth to the gulf of perdition; and especially let Catholic priests beware, who follow a holier life than others, and walk in a higher vocation, and so much the more have they need to look unto themselves, and walk with care and consideration. If any have fallen, or have been tempted by my example, let them rise again with me; and if any have taken hurt by my wickedness, I ask them heartily and humbly forgiveness.

"As for the rest of my temporal and mortal life, I have no great care, so I may obtain mercy of Almighty God—mercy, I mean, of the world to come; for in this world I refuse no shame or ignominy, no confusion, chastisement, or misery, neither have I any consolation at all in this life, but only in penance and satisfaction. Our Lord Jesus, of His infinite mercy, give me strength to bear it, and then let the world heap on me what punishments soever, only I desire pardon of all those that I have offended, and the prayers of other good Catholics besides. And for that at this time I find myself to have the perfect use of reason,

A prevention for the time to come.

memory, and all my other senses, and I cannot tell what may become of me hereafter, or how my will may be perverted by fear, force, and violence of torments, I do here, of my own free will, again and again confirm and ratify my former confession; and if the Queen's Majesty should offer me pardon and temporal life, to the end I should return again to affirm those falsehoods that before I invented, I do utterly refuse the same, being ready rather to die a thousand deaths than to fall any more into such horrible wickedness, to forsake God's Church, and betray the innocent.

"Moreover, I do here detest all heresy from the bottom of my heart, and do protest that I will live and die in the holy Catholic faith of the Roman Apostolic and Universal Church, and that I do acknowledge the Bishop of that See for my high Pastor, and God's Vicar upon earth in spiritual affairs, though in all temporal and worldly matters I do willingly submit myself unto the Queen's Majesty, whom I do acknowledge for my lawful prince and governess, and do reverence and obey her laws, so far forth as they do not repugn to the law of Almighty God and His holy Church. And I do humbly ask forgiveness of her Majesty, and of my Lord Treasurer, for abusing them with so many lies, as also of the rest of her Majesty's honourable Council, and all the Protestants of England whom I have deceived by my hypocrisy, and given them occasion to offend Almighty God to my greater damnation,—our Lord forgive me for it. And as my life, favour or preferment in this world, if they should be offered to me again with this intent, as before I have said, to continue in my former wickedness, I do now and for ever renounce them utterly as most pestilent instruments and means of my eternal perdition, and I hope by the holy grace of Jesus never to be perverted by them again, and so, being full of desolation, and not having whither to turn myself for help or comfort, but only to my Heavenly Father, whom most of all I have offended, and to my Mother, His Spouse, the Catholic Church, whom traitorously I have forsaken, albeit heaven and earth do most justly cry vengeance and confusion against me, and all worldly and carnal friends do seem to give me that desperate counsel of the wife of Job, which was to curse God and die; yet will I not despair, but hope in His clemency that is above all wickedness so long as I remember these comfortable words—*apud Dominum misericordia et copiosa apud Eum redemptio.*

His detestation of heresy.

"And now being in this heavy and desolate case of afflic-

His great grief and desolation.

tion every way, without hope of friendship under heaven either from Catholic or Protestant, would God I could with that holy and blessed man, St. Francis, make such confident recourse to my celestial Father as he did when he was forsaken of all earthly succour and spoiled also of his very apparel, saying that now he might justly cry out, 'Our Father who art in heaven,' for that upon earth he had neither father nor friend left, which in me also is most true at this time, though the cause be far different from that Saint, for that by my own demerits and wickedness I have fallen into this desolation. But yet, O Lord, my most sweet Saviour, I will not despair, but do beseech Thee for Thy most bitter Passion suffered for sinners, that Thou wilt vouchsafe to hide me, the most vilest of all others, in the depth of Thy most sacred Wounds, from the sight and contradiction of men, and from the fury of my foes, and from the power of Satan. Hide me, I say, under the wings of Thy heavenly grace and mercy, that I may once come to behold that glorious face of Thine which for the sins of Jerusalem was watered with tears, and after for my sins and those of all the world was buffeted with fists and defiled with blood and spittle. Grant me, O Lord, to lie at Thy feet and wash the same with tears all the days of my life, as Mary Magdalene did, to the end that, by Thy mercy and my sorrow and repentance, I may wash away at length all other horrible and most heinous offences which I have committed against Thy eternal Majesty and against Thy priests and servants, for which I am most heavy and sorrowful, and my soul being full of sadness, grief, and affliction, hath no other refuge but to the Blessed Trinity, to whom be all honour and glory for evermore.

"By me,

"ANTHONY TYRRELL, Priest,

"with my own hand."

This was the speech which Anthony Tyrrell cast abroad; and it was the providence of Almighty God that one copy amongst the rest did fall right between a Catholic priest named Mr. Richard Leigh,[1] which the very same year of 1588 obtained happy martyrdom for his faith, and another Catholic young man named Ralph Ashley,[2] both which had come together that day to hear this famous speech of Tyrrell's: and albeit there was present proclamation made in the Queen's name by Justice Young (who was no little troubled, as you may think, at that instant to see his comedy have so unpleasant an applause), that upon pain of death no man should retain or read those copies, but bring them in presently to him, yet these two Catholics, seeing all in uproar and confusion about pulling down of Tyrrell, adventured to carry away this copy, which is thought was the only one that was gotten by the Catholics; and going presently to a gentleman's chamber of the Middle Temple, caused divers copies to be drawn forth and to be sent abroad to Catholics for their comfort throughout the realm. But in the main space, all was in marvellous hurly and burly at Paul's Cross, where the people had heard three sermons in one hour, all contrary the one to the other; the first of the preacher in praise and credit of Tyrrell; the second of Tyrrell himself in derogation of the preacher; the third of Justice Young threatening death to those that should believe Tyrrell. But the concourse of people was so unruly as Tyrrell was carried away on men's shoulders to the gaol of Newgate, by St. Nicholas' shambles in Newgate market, the Protestants crying out vengeance upon him, and he

[1] Richard Leigh suffered for his priesthood at Tyburn, August 30, 1588. He was betrayed by Tyrrell under the name of Garth. *Supra*, p. 439. P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv. n. 58.

[2] Ralph Ashley suffered at Worcester with Father Oldcorne, April 7, 1606. See *Troubles*, First Series, pp. 162, 172; *Condition of Catholics*, pp. 181, 275.

weeping bitterly and knocking his breast, and affirming that he had done nothing that day but upon mere force and compulsion of his conscience; and the concourse was so great about the prison as they were forced to change him within two hours after to the Counter, where none came unto him but Topcliffe and Young. And by a certain chink of a wall he conferred daily for three months with one Alexander Hambleton, a Scotchman and Catholic, that was prisoner for his conscience in the next chamber, what passed between them, and what spies the two said persecutors had among the Catholics, whereof advice was given and much hurt avoided. And in this case did the said Alexander leave him; and when he got his liberty to come over into Flanders, Tyrrell remained still in prison.

[Here Father Persons' manuscript ends. When it was written, poor Anthony Tyrrell's last fall was not known, and probably the news of it hindered the publication. Before the year was ended in which he had given such remarkable testimony to the side on which truth lay, he was induced once more to change. On the 8th of December, 1588, he preached at St. Paul's Cross a sermon in the sense in which it was intended that he should have preached at his first appearance there in January. His sermon was printed in black letter, bearing date the same year, and was published with a similar sermon delivered at the same place by a fellow-apostate, called William Tidder. The title-page of Tyrrell's sermon runs thus:- "The recantation or abjuration of Anthony Tyrrell (some time priest of the English College in Rome, but now by the great mercy of God converted and become a true professor of His Word), pronounced by himself at Paul's Cross, after the sermon made by Mr. Pownoll, preacher, the 8th of December, 1588. Seen and allowed according to the order appointed. At London, printed by John Charlewood and William Brome, 1588." A few

extracts from the preface respecting his return to England have been already given.[1] In the sermon itself he speaks thus of his previous appearance at St. Paul's Cross and of his subsequent conduct.

"Considering the notorious and outrageous trespass, after so many merciful remissions, that not many months past I publicly committed at this place (right honourable, worshipful, and well-beloved) in the dispersing of certain infamous libels, . . . being fallen into an extreme obstinacy, with what furious madness I came hither unto the Cross, it is not unknown how here I behaved myself, [for] there were many witnesses. From hence I was carried unto Newgate, where I gloried in that I had done. From thence into the Counter in Wood Street, where I remained twenty-four weeks close prisoner, in that obstinacy that no persuasion or good entreaty could convert me; insomuch that if in all that time I had been called unto my trial, as many of my quality and condition have been, I think verily that I had ended my life as obstinately as any of them. *Sed novit Dominus qui sunt Ejus.* God knoweth who are His chosen, and whom God hath chosen to save, no man can take from Him.

"Behold I was during the time of my imprisonment visited by the hand of God with an extreme sickness. I languished of the infirmity unto the very death: for, so many as did behold me in my great malady, thought that I should never have escaped with life. At that time I had all the consolations and comforts that Papists could yield me, and some that shall be nameless comforted me with the Pope's pardons and indulgences, saying that I was a happy man, and that my name should be memorable among the Papists when I were dead and gone."

We thus learn from Tyrrell himself that he continued firm in the Faith while a close prisoner in his old place of confinement, the Counter in Wood Street, for a further

[1] *Supra*, p. 456.

space of three months after he lost the comfort and support he received from his whisperings with Alexander Hambleton. We may judge from this what we are to think of Mr. Froude's suggestion[1] that Tyrrell's retractations were made "when he had fallen again into the hands of the priests." After six months' perseverance in the midst of the hardships of close imprisonment in the prison which of all the London prisons had perhaps the worst reputation, Anthony Tyrrell gave way once more. By October he had been transferred to less irksome confinement at St. Catherine's, and thence he wrote a letter[2] on the 15th of October to Lord Treasurer Burghley. "I am only in all humility," he writes, "to beseech your lordship to grant me your wonted favour, and I shall most gladly and thankfully accept it upon any condition. I do but expect your lordship's good pleasure, and God willing I shall be always ready to perform any action which your wisdom shall think expedient for the manifestation unto the world of my true repentance, having scandalized so much for my oft revolting. What it shall please your honour to have done with my confession I would gladly be informed. If neither the method or matter were unto your liking, I should, God willing, take in hand some other thing. Until I may know your lordship's pleasure, I do spare both my labour and my pen."

The result was, as we have seen, the sermon at Paul's Cross, which as Tyrrell cannot have failed to notice, was delivered on one of our Blessed Lady's great feasts. Four days afterwards (December 12, 1588), dating still from St. Catherine's, Tyrrell wrote[3] again to Lord Burghley, comparing himself to Absalom, yet hoping that there was no less compassion in Burghley than there was in David, and trusting that his honour had given him a perfect forgiveness. "I was bold, therefore," he says, "after some small show of my true and unfeigned

[1] *Supra*, p. 290. [2] *Lansd. MSS.* 58, n. 51. [3] *Ibid.* n. 17.

repentance, to address these letters unto your honour, hoping that once again you will vouchsafe to take me into patronage, and the rather for that the enemies of God will now hate me for my well doing. For my part I hope God will so underprop me with His grace, as from henceforth you shall not hear of me so much as a light suspicion either of treachery, hypocrisy, or dissimulation. And whereas I fear that my cousin Anthony Cooke be worthily fallen into displeasure with me for falsifying my faith unto God, my prince, and your lordship, I hope your honour his favourable good word spoken in my behalf shall reconcile me until his goodwill and favour again, the which once gained I shall more carefully conserve the same than hitherto I have done. As for the residue of my kindred, according to the proverb I have many but few friends, and the fewer I shall have, for that I purpose to live in the fear of God, like a good subject and a Christian. I hope therefore your honour of your accustomed pity will further me some way that I may have *victum et vestitum*, whereby I may the better serve God, my Prince, and my country in my vocation."

[And now Anthony Tyrrell disappears. He lived many years as a Protestant minister, too well known by English Catholics to be capable of betraying them any more. Once he reappears within our field of view, when in 1602 Bancroft was preparing an onslaught on the character of the English priests. Tyrrell was one of the witnesses[1] who were examined by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners respecting the exorcisms in which he had taken part, and though he expressed himself in the sense which would please his examiners, his deposition for its moderation contrasts favourably with those of the other witnesses.

When he was an old man, as Father Weston has

[1] *Supra*, pp. 99, 103.

already told us,[1] he was induced by his brother to leave England and to retire to Belgium, where he could obey the dictates of his conscience, and live and die a Catholic. This brother must be Robert Tyrrell, whose name we find, together with those of all the English Catholics then living in the Low Countries, attached, in November, 1596, to a declaration[2] of affection to the Society of Jesus. Robert Tyrrell had the satisfaction of recovering to the Faith the brother whose inconstancy and treachery had exceeded that of all his fellow-spies. But if Anthony Tyrrell had done more harm than they, there are not many of the others who at least ended so well as he did. Amongst the manuscripts of the Old Chapter there is one that corroborates Father Weston's testimony to Tyrrell's repentance at the last. It is a list of apostates; and to the name of Anthony Tyrrell the words are added, with which we gladly part from him, *Mortuus est pœnitens.*]

[1] *Supra*, p. 207. Father Weston in his narrative has misplaced Tyrrell's previous departure from England, saying that it was after instead of before the two appearances at St. Paul's Cross.

[2] Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. iii. p. xc.

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